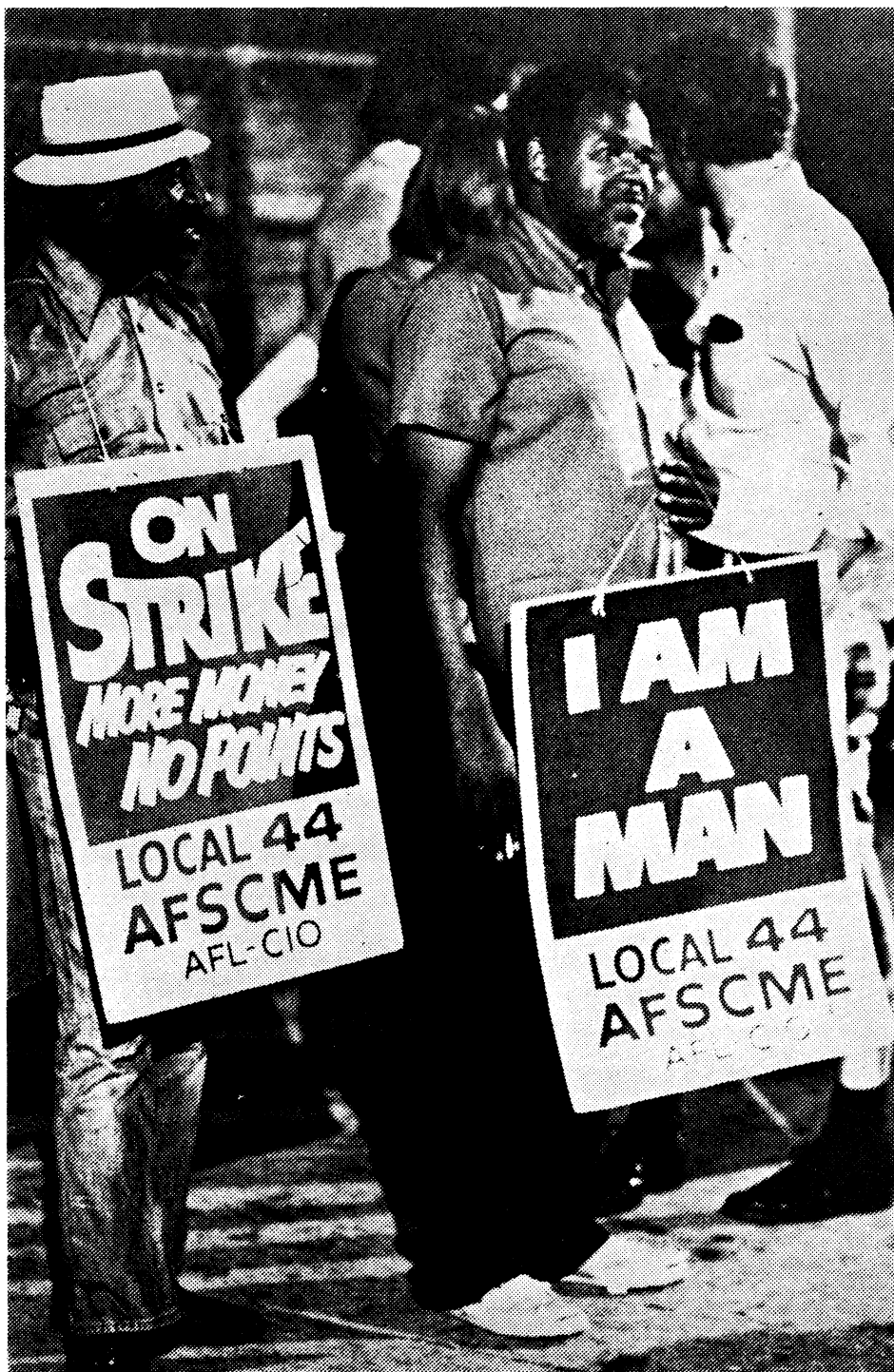


# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



Militant/Jean Vertheim

Baltimore. For news and analysis of public workers' struggles across country, see pages 3, 4, and 10.

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Militant/Brian Shannon



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## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 38/NUMBER 29  
JULY 26, 1974  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 17, 1974

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS  
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$5 a year; foreign, \$8.60. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$30; all other countries, \$51. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$40. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$38; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$50; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$60. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: L1 for eight issues, L2.50 for six months, L5 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**PICKET SHOT AT HARLAN COUNTY, KY., MINE:** Minard Turner, a 66-year-old pensioned miner, was shot twice in the chest July 8 by a strikebreaker trying to cross a United Mine Workers (UMW) picket line in Highsplint, Ky. Turner and the other picketers were urging workers at Duke Power Company's Highsplint mine to walk off the job in solidarity with the year-old strike at Duke's nearby Brookside mine.

Picketing at the Highsplint mine began in early July. The Highsplint miners belong to a company union, the Southern Labor Union, which the Brookside miners rejected last year in favor of the UMW. The Brookside strike began July 26, 1973, when Duke Power refused to meet UMW contract demands.

Although the state police have charged Duke employee Arville Noland Jr., with the shooting of Turner, most of the cops' time since the July 8 assault has been spent escorting scabs into the Highsplint mine.

In protest of continued company-cop violence against the picketers, UMW President Arnold Miller called a news conference for July 16 to announce a "battle plan" if the coal operators would not agree to resolve the dispute. The July 16 *Wall Street Journal* reported, "A key tactic in such a plan, a spokesman indicated, might be a nationwide strike of coal miners."

The news conference was later canceled, however. The UMW has announced that a rally will be held in Harlan County July 21 to support the Brookside strikers.

**U.S. AID IN VIETNAM A HOAX:** Recent testimony before the House Foreign Relations Committee has revealed the true nature of U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) operations in South Vietnam. Edward Block, who served for 20 months in Vietnam as an employee of AID, urged the committee to halt the flow of funds to "the massive hoax" of AID's so-called humanitarian programs.

Based on his experience before resigning from AID last December, Block testified that the real objectives of the AID programs are 1) to support and maintain the Thieu regime; 2) to subsidize Thieu's unstable economy; 3) to encourage the South Vietnamese government "to hold hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of refugees as dependents of the government rather than allowing them to return freely to their original villages, which may be in or nearby areas controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG)"; and 4) to help the Saigon government occupy territory currently held by the PRG.

**BLACK JOB ACTION WINS CONSTRUCTION JOBS:** Chanting, "We need jobs, not welfare," Blacks and Puerto Ricans occupied and shut down 10 blocks of construction on Myrtle Avenue in Brooklyn on June 24, *Militant* correspondent Robb Wright reports.

They were protesting the refusal by Columbia Asphalt Corporation, which is repaving the avenue, to provide 12 jobs on the construction site for members of the Fort Green community.

The action was called by Black Economic Survival, Fight Back, and Manpower, three Black organizations involved in the struggle to win more construction jobs for minority workers.

With demonstrators, construction workers, and community residents looking on, negotiations were held at the on-site office between the three groups, the contractor, and union representatives.

The contractor said he would quit the site before he'd give up more than two jobs. An official of Local 1010 of the Laborers' Union also said he would order his men off the job if the 12 were hired, since they would not have union books.

Black Economic Survival leaders Moses Harris, Mike Thomas, and Oscar Fomby replied that two jobs were not enough and that the action would continue until their demands were met.

The contractor then proceeded to pull his equipment off the site. In further negotiations, however, he agreed to provide nine jobs right away and three more in two weeks.

During the past year, Black Economic Survival has carried out 90 such job-site occupations in Brooklyn and obtained 160 jobs in the industry for Black and Puerto Rican workers.

**ABORTION I:** The New York Department of Consumer Affairs revealed at a hearing July 10 "illegal, abusive, or medically dangerous" practices by some abortion clinics in New York City.

Several women who testified at the hearings were investigators who had posed as pregnant women seeking an abortion. One of them, when told to bring a urine sample for a pregnancy test, had substituted a urine sample from a male. She was told that the test was positive and that

she would need an abortion. Another had called up an abortion clinic to check on the price of a pregnancy test. She was told, "Stop hoping it's something else. Of course you're pregnant—just come down here with \$150. . . ."

According to state public health law, nonprofit referral agencies may not receive any fees, and it is illegal to set up an agency for profit.

The hearings documented cases of referral agencies collecting large sums in referral fees as well as mis-advertising the cost of an abortion.

**ABORTION II:** A decision by a three-judge federal panel has knocked down Louisiana's anti-abortion statute.

The Supreme Court decision of January 1973 legalized abortion in all 50 states. Louisiana, however, attempted to maintain its anti-abortion statute, which provides for disbarring any doctor who performs an abortion except to save the life of the woman. Women who sought abortions in Louisiana were denied them on the grounds that it violated state law.

Louisiana's attorney general plans to appeal the decision of the federal panel.

In the meantime, the Delta Women's Clinic—the only abortion clinic in the state—plans to remain in operation.

**NEW YORK PICKET PROTESTS SOUTH KOREAN REPRESSION:** To chants of "Free Kim Chi Ha," a small group of Blacks and Asian-Americans picketed the South Korean mission to the United Nations July 15. The action was called by the Congress of African People (CAP) in Newark to "protest against the barbaric regime of U.S. imperialist stooge Park Chung Hee, who is an agent of capitalist depravity. Park Chung Hee has sentenced South Korea's leading poet Kim Chi Ha to death, as well as scores of others for daring to say his oppressive regime is not serving the people."

In addition to Kim Chi Ha, 13 others were recently sentenced to death by a South Korean military court. CAP asks that letters of protest be sent to the South Korean embassy at 2320 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

**BUFFALO CREEK SETTLEMENT:** A \$65-million damage suit brought by 654 survivors of the Buffalo Creek disaster has been settled out of court. The survivors sued the Pittston Company, owner of a coal mine dam that collapsed in February 1972 killing 125 people in a West Virginia valley.

The company agreed to pay \$13.5-million—an average of about \$20,640 for each plaintiff. A lawyer for the Buffalo Creek plaintiffs said that payments would vary according to individual claims for deaths of relatives, loss of property, and for "psychic impairment."

This latter claim was the one most often cited by the plaintiffs. They pointed to the mental anguish they suffered as a result of the disaster and the psychological symptoms such as fear of water, rain, or a "survivor syndrome."

The Pittston Company says it has paid another \$12.5-million to individual claimants not involved in the omnibus suit.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# Baltimore: militant AFSCME strike shows power of municipal workers

By RICH ROBOHM  
and FRANK GRINNON

BALTIMORE—Local businessmen were planning a gala campaign to publicize Baltimore as "Charm City, USA."

Near the end of the city workers' strike, with a smoky pall from trash fires hanging over the city, the stench of rotting garbage heavy in the air, and downtown merchants brandishing shotguns in front of their stores, the opening festivities for "Charm City" were abruptly called off.

Among those who find this city the least charming are the men who pick up its garbage, keep its sewers and water running, repair its streets, clean up its parks, and tend the animals in its zoo. Nearly all of them are Black.

Their wages are so low that many need food stamps or a second job to get by. And they are fed up with being pushed around as though they were something less than human beings.

The two-week strike by Baltimore city workers ended July 15 with a wage settlement far below their demands and needs. But the city workers had demonstrated both their determination to fight for a better life and their power to bring the city's vital functions to a standstill.

## Began as wildcat

The walkout began July 1 as a wildcat action by 1,000 sanitation department workers, members of Local 44 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

They struck the day after a meeting attended by a minority of Local 44 members narrowly approved a proposed new contract with the city. The contract provided for a total increase in wages and fringe benefits of only 6 percent, or about 20 cents an hour. The starting wage was \$3.08.

Local union officials tried for two days to persuade the men to go back to work. But the sanitation workers, the lowest paid of Local 44's 11,000 members, weren't buying the deal. The union's agreement with the city was "a sellout," many charged. Local 44 President Raymond Clark was hung in effigy at one garbage dump.

At a July 2 local meeting, the proposed contract was officially rejected and the strike was sanctioned. It quickly spread to include more than

3,000 workers from the city departments of highways, parks and recreation, and sewer and water.

National officials of AFSCME, including President Jerry Wurf, came to Baltimore in a show of solidarity. Several were arrested on the picket lines. A July 8 rally of 500 workers cheered AFSCME Secretary-Treasurer William Lucy when he declared, "We don't strike to relieve emotional tension. We strike to win!"

Also on July 8, the city and state AFL-CIO councils announced their support for the strike. The executive board of the Baltimore Teachers Union, American Federation of Teachers, voted "100 percent" support to the strikers.

## 'Can't make it on \$92'

"We didn't start the strike," one worker told *The Militant*. "The high cost of living did."

Spurning the city's offer of 20 cents, the city workers demanded an immediate increase of 50 cents, or about 15 percent. "Beans Up 235%—Our Wages Up 5.5%?" picket signs read.

"I just can't make it with a take-home pay of \$92 a week," said a tall, husky Black man. He and a dozen others were maintaining an around-the-clock picket line in front of a city grounds division truck equipment depot.

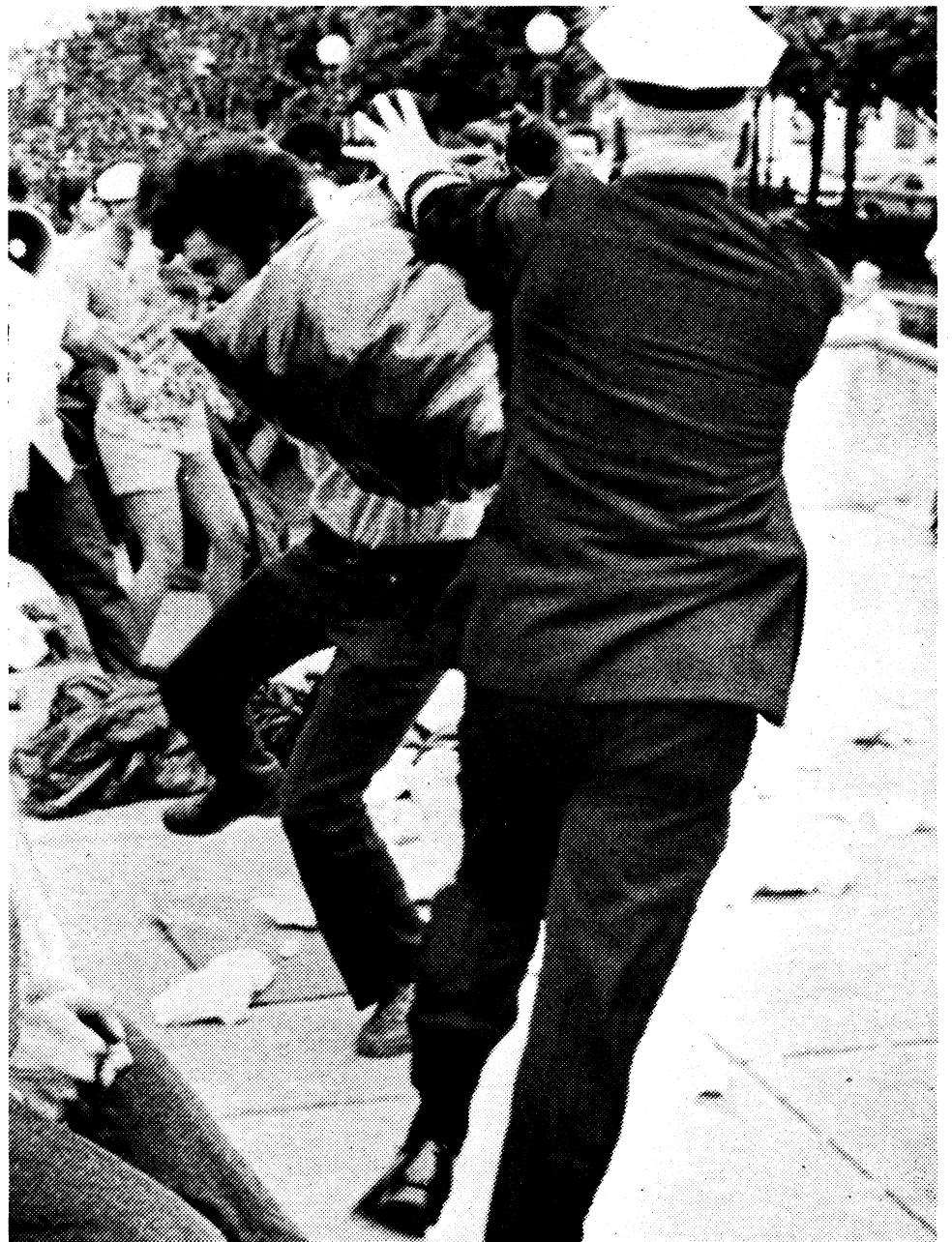
"I've got \$130 rent, \$16 phone. I have a family and kids. There's an 11 percent credit-union rate on loans. I just can't make it. And the Man could care less!"

The pickets explained that there had been a strike of municipal workers in 1968, but only a few departments went out. They were defeated so badly that some workers thought "it would take 10 years to catch up."

In 1971 they were supposed to get a raise, but Nixon's wage freeze cut them out. Then last year they got a measly 3 percent increase.

At a picket line in front of the Reed-bird Avenue garbage dump in South Baltimore, Robert Campbell was one of the strikers interviewed by *The Militant*. Campbell is among the highest-paid workers in his division. As a bulk truck driver with six years' seniority he takes home \$101 a week to support a family of seven.

Like many of his co-workers, he relies on food stamps to stretch his



Cop attacks supporter of sanitation strike attempting to deposit garbage at city hall

family's budget. "I couldn't afford to accept a 20 cent raise," Campbell said. "It would make me ineligible for food stamps and at the same time 20 cents couldn't compensate for the food stamps that I now get."

## 'I am a man!'

The Baltimore workers were fighting not just for higher pay but to uphold their rights and their dignity as human beings—as Black people.

A growing majority of this city of 900,000 is Black. The slums still bear the scars of the rebellion in April 1968 after Martin Luther King was killed—

while in Memphis supporting another strike by Black sanitation workers. The city government is mostly white.

One crucial demand of the strike was for an end to the "point system," which the workers call the "slave act." Under this system, which went into effect last September, a worker can be fired for accumulating eight points in one year. A point is assessed for every day an employee is absent from the job, even if the absence is due to a doctor-certified illness or injury.

"Man, they care more about the animals in the cages than the people who

*Continued on following page*

## Despite police 'strike'--a cop is a cop

BALTIMORE—The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) has been conducting a drive to enlist the great unorganized majority of public employees into the ranks of the union.

The one completely reactionary aspect of this otherwise positive campaign has been the recruitment of cops and prison guards into AFSCME.

The recent Baltimore strike offered the spectacle, unique in labor history, of members of one union local being clubbed, arrested, fingerprinted, and thrown in jail by members of another local of the same union!

Two-thirds of the Baltimore cops are organized into Local 1195 of AFSCME. Near the end of the municipal workers' strike, some of these cops refused to report for duty and even set up their own picket lines. Earlier they had engaged in such "job actions" as stepped-up harassment of people by issuing thousands of extra tickets for minor traffic violations.

AFSCME officials tried to foster an identification of "striking" cops with the striking public workers. Fortunately for the workers, the Black community has not lumped them together with the hated police apparatus. But the situation left many of the strikers and their supporters confused. Many felt the "strikers" were "good cops," at least compared to the "scab cops," who went about their usual business of attacking picket lines and escorting scab garbage trucks.

But the actions of the cops themselves throughout the strike made clear their real social role. They arrested dozens of strikers and even carted a good portion of AFSCME's national leadership off to jail.

Early on the morning of July 12 cops murdered a 30-year-old Black man as they chased him from the scene of a suspected burglary. The same morning cops arrested at least four people suspected of breaking into

a store. The *Washington Post* reported that soon after the arrest, "an angry crowd gathered and shouted at the policemen, one woman yelling, 'You're not protecting people, you're protecting property.'" Exactly true.

On the occasion of the New York City cop "strike" in January 1971, a *Militant* editorial explained that cops "are not part of the labor movement." *The Militant* wrote: "The duty of cops is to take orders from their capitalist masters, which means breaking strikes, smashing demonstrations, and beating Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano heads. The New York cops are not asking for an end to these duties. That would mean an end to their jobs. Rather they are asking for more money to compensate them for carrying out these actions. . . .

"Cops are not like rank-and-file GIs who are forced into the Army. There is no law that says a person must be a cop. They willingly choose to

be cops. They ask to serve as armed protectors of the ruling class and rapidly become corrupted.

"It is well known that the mercenary wages cops receive are supplemented by bribes and payoffs, often received from the very racketeers they are supposedly protecting the people from. Their privileged status gives them considerable immunity from legal action.

"The fact that New York City's cops engaged in a form of struggle used by sections of the mass movement in battles against their oppressors does not change their fundamental social role one iota. A cop is a cop!"

The same holds true in Baltimore today. Television broadcasts of the police pickets at the city jails recently featured the reaction of one young cop who had just been suspended from the force and stripped of his badge and gun. He did the one progressive thing that he or any of his fellow cops can do. He quit.

— R.R.



# ...Baltimore municipal workers

Continued from preceding page

work here," a young Black striker outside the zoo told a reporter.

Very late on the last night of the strike, a group of Black pickets was standing in the sweltering heat, talking to a *Militant* reporter. One of them pointed to a picket sign that read in bold black letters, "I am a man."

He said for him that sign summed up what they were fighting for. They wanted to be able to feed and clothe their families decently so they could have a feeling of self-respect and dignity. He repeated it again: "I am a man!"

## 'No more money'?

City officials adamantly refused to consider paying more than 6 percent. Negotiations were broken off early in the strike and not resumed until July 12.

"There is no more money. . . it's just not there," insisted Mayor William Schaefer, a Democrat. Strikers scornfully responded by asking why the city just gave the supervisor of schools a shiny new car, the city hall was being renovated, and the city was building "highways going to nowhere."

Schaefer, they pointed out, got \$35,000 a year to pay for his groceries. "We all got to eat."

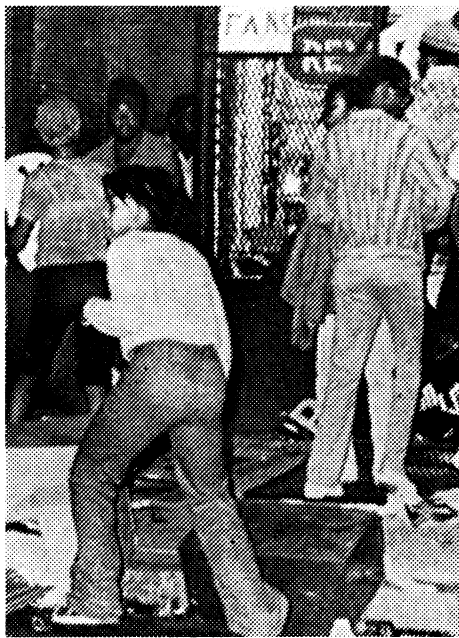
But the mayor evidently thought he could hold out as he did during the teachers' strike last February, called by the Public School Teachers Association. After a month-long walkout, the teachers were forced back for only 6 percent.

Schaefer went on a drive to recruit private citizens to cross the union picket lines and take garbage to various landfill-garbage dumps. He spent \$120,000 just to provide plastic bags for this purpose, but with little success.

Union pickets persuaded most drivers to turn back and look elsewhere for a place to dump their garbage. The entrances to the landfills were sometimes blocked by burning garbage, and those who ventured inside were liable to emerge with tires punctured by the debris.

In response to the mayor's scabbing campaign, strikers marched to the city hall July 10. They put up a big sign reading, "Bring your garbage to the biggest landfill: city hall. You better believe it," and deposited assorted garbage. Several were arrested.

Strikers also made use of flying picket squads. Communicating with two-way radios, teams of union members were dispatched to scenes of strikebreaking activity.



Youth hit back at price-gouging ghetto store July 12. They have no sympathy for Baltimore cops, who shot and killed Black man that morning.

The courts joined in the strikebreaking effort, quickly handing down an injunction against the walkout. The Baltimore city workers, like most public employees, are prohibited by law from striking. Beginning July 8 the union was fined \$15,000 a day for the duration of the walkout.

The judicial threats didn't make a dent in the militancy of the rank-and-file strikers. Most undoubtedly backed AFSCME President Jerry Wurf's statement that "we have no choice but to break the law, or we become slaves of the system."

However, the threat that the top officials of Local 44 would be jailed if a settlement wasn't reached by July 15 may help explain why on July 14 the union negotiators suddenly accepted the poor terms they had reportedly rejected just the day before.

The city heightened its efforts to create a crisis hysteria when about half the city cops went on "strike" July 12. The cops are members of AFSCME Local 1195. After rejecting a 6 percent pay increase they started job actions July 7.

City jail guards, members of Local 44, set up picket lines around the jail July 8. They told reporters if there was a "riot" at the jail they would go back in to suppress it.

On July 12, 115 riot-trained Maryland state troopers were ordered into the city, and all told, twice the normal number of cops were patrolling the streets. This show of force, ostensibly needed to quell fires and looting, was obviously also intended to intimidate

the strikers. In addition, dozens of private guards prowled around stores in the downtown area, openly brandishing shotguns.

It was in such an atmosphere that Local 44 officials announced a settlement had been reached.

## Terms of settlement

The agreement includes an immediate wage increase of 25 cents an hour, just a nickel more than the city's original offer.

Workers will get another 5 cents an hour next January, 5 cents more next March, and 35 cents next July. This will bring the hourly wage of the lowest-paid workers from \$3.08 to \$3.78 over a two-year period.

There is no guarantee that the hated point system will be abolished. It is suspended for 45 days while union and city officials try to devise a "substitute disciplinary system." If they cannot agree, the issue will be submitted to binding arbitration.

The city supposedly pledged no reprisals against strikers. In an ominous development, however, Mayor Schaefer announced that the settlement would cost the city \$2.5 million and that this would be paid for by cutting the work force by 300 people.

The judge who issued the antistrike injunction refused to drop a \$90,000 fine against Local 44. And despite earlier pledges of financial aid from the Baltimore AFL-CIO, it has been reported that the fine will be paid by weekly deductions from the paychecks of Local 44 members.

The settlement was ratified by voice vote at a meeting July 15 of 500 Local 44 members.

The cop strike ended the next day with an agreement to raise salaries 6 percent now and up to a minimum of \$10,000 next July. The police commissioner refused, however, to guarantee amnesty for the striking cops. He had earlier fired 82 probationary cops for taking part in the walkout.

The city workers' wage increase is certainly less than is needed for a decent standard of living and probably less than could have been won by a more resolute leadership.

But the workers succeeded in breaking through the city's 6 percent limit, thus paving the way for other public employees. All municipal workers, including teachers, are under a parity agreement that now allows them to reopen their contracts.

Most important, the workers are going back undefeated—with a stronger union and a new sense of their own power.

# Black trade-union leaders hear Dixon

By CONNIE PIPER

Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, was invited to address the executive committee of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) in Chicago recently. Dixon spoke to the Black labor leaders about the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the group organizing support for the socialist suit against Watergate.

This civil liberties suit, filed by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, seeks a permanent injunction against government infiltration, wiretapping, mail tampering, burglary, and other Watergate-style harassment. Dixon is a plaintiff in the suit.

Delegates to the CBTU convention in May had instructed the executive committee to consider support for the suit.

In his presentation, Dixon pointed out that "traditionally, Black and labor activists and organizations have been prime victims of government harassment." He urged the CBTU leaders to "utilize your influence as leaders in the Black and labor movements to protect the democratic rights of all by supporting this suit."

Dixon also described how the suit has forced the government to admit that it initiated an "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961, conducted electronic surveillance of the SWP dating back to 1945, and monitored correspondence sent to the SWP national office in New York.

The CBTU executive committee pledged to aid the suit by filing "friend of the court" briefs once the case goes to trial. CBTU leader Robert Wilson, who is vice-president of Local 174 of the Butchers Union in New York, said the action indicated the Black leaders' "complete agreement with the aims of the suit."

Additional support for the PRDF came at the recent national convention of the People's Party in Indianapolis, where delegates passed a resolution "to endorse the goals of the Political Rights Defense Fund."

The resolution noted that "it has been established that the FBI has been involved in harassment of all movements for social change, including the antiwar, socialist, Black and Chicano movements. . . the issues involved in this case affect the rights of all Americans. . ."

Chicago supporters of the PRDF held a successful "Evening for the Bill of Rights" benefit July 9, raising \$700 toward legal expenses in the case.

Sponsors of the party included Ruth Adams, executive director, Illinois American Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Quentin Young, Medical Committee for Human Rights; and Ron Dorfman, associate editor of *Chicagoan*, a popular entertainment guide.

At the benefit, civil liberties attorney Elmer Gertz called the socialist suit "one of the most comprehensive suits defending the Bill of Rights. It deserves the support of all civil libertarians." Gertz is well-known as the attorney who defended Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* against censorship.

Other recent endorsers of the PRDF include historian Henry Steele Commager; actor Rod Steiger; writers Susan Sontag and Dalton Trumbo; and Basil Paterson, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

# Ohio state employees call strike

CLEVELAND, July 17—An Ohio-wide conference of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) held July 14 voted unanimously to strike for a 40-cent increase in hourly wages.

If the strike is successful, the increase will apply to 40,000 Ohio civil service employees. Presidents of 27 locals representing 5,000 state hospital, mental health, university, liquor store, highway, and garage workers participated in the meeting. Also represented were guards from Ohio's eight major prisons, who are organized by AFSCME.

The strike call came in an atmosphere of heightening militancy among state employees. In the past week there has been a series of wildcat strikes among hospital workers and prison guards around the state.

On July 13 the Teamsters sanc-

tioned a strike for the 2,600 state workers it represents. Other groups representing state workers—the Communications Workers of America, the Ohio Civil Service Employees Association (OCSEA), and the Ohio Correctional Officers Association—had denied responsibility for the wildcat strikes.

OCSEA leaders have urged their members to cross picket lines.

On July 15 and July 16 response to the AFSCME strike call was virtually unanimous from members of the union throughout the state. Pickets went up at mental institutions, nine state universities, and Ohio liquor stores across the state. "White-collar flu" hit the state parole board in Cleveland, with both union and nonunion workers calling in sick.

Ted Clemons, executive director of

Continued on page 22



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Demonstration by Cleveland AFSCME members in 1972.



**'Like watching a slow avalanche'**

# U.S. rulers still locked in W'gate dilemma

By CINDY JAQUITH

One year ago, on July 20, Richard Nixon made his famous declaration, "Let others wallow in Watergate." Today, up to his eyes in the Watergate muck, Nixon faces what *Newsweek* called "the beginning of the end game."

"In recent weeks President Nixon has had reason to believe that he was on the upswing in his battle to turn back the advance of impeachment," said the July 22 *Time* magazine. "His trips to the Middle East and the Soviet Union were marked by some modest successes that reinforced his record of accomplishment in foreign policy. At home the impeachment drive seemed to be faltering in Congress, slowed by legalistic detail and partisan bickering. There were no new Watergate sensations, and the public appeared weary of the deepest political scandal in U.S. history."

"Last week the mood in Washington changed abruptly."

A series of events pushed Watergate to the fore again—including the Supreme Court deliberations on Nixon's tapes, the conviction of White House aide John Ehrlichman in the Ellsberg burglary, and the new reports released by the Senate Watergate committee and the House Judiciary Committee. But most damaging was the House Judiciary Committee's publication of its own version of the White House tapes, showing extensive deletions and rewording to cover up Nixon's role. "... Mr. Nixon himself was disclosed



GURNEY: Influence peddler, with a sideline in Senate investigations.

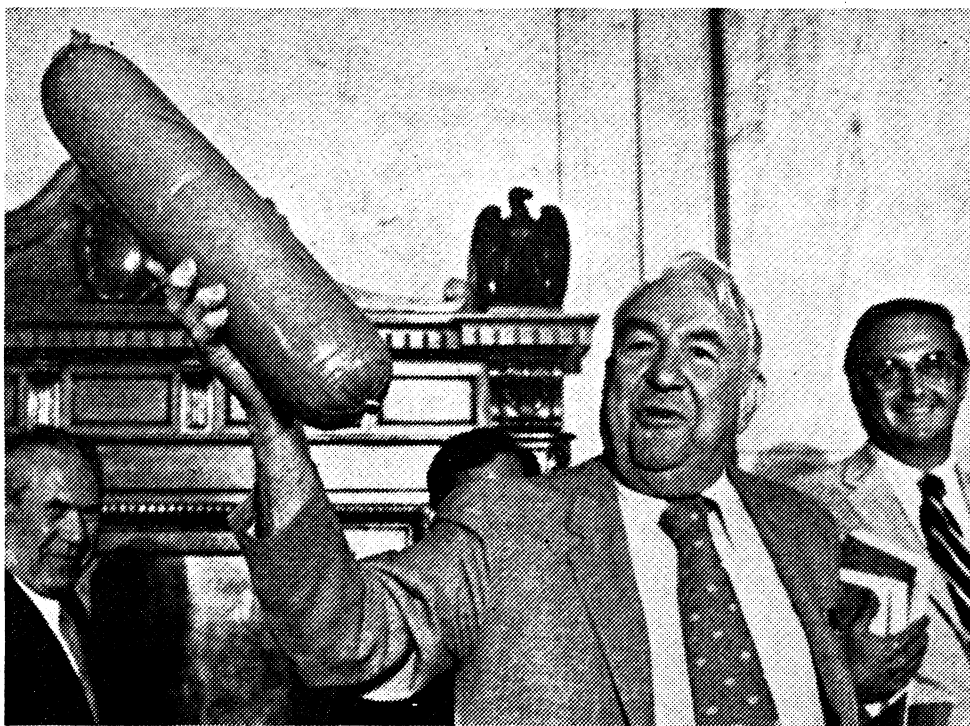
to have scissored no fewer than sixteen minutes out of one conversation," reported the July 22 *Newsweek*.

The most celebrated quote from that 16-minute excision was when Nixon discussed the cover-up plan with former attorney general John Mitchell.

## 'Stonewall it'

"I don't give a shit what happens," said Nixon. "I want you all to stonewall it, let them plead the Fifth Amendment, cover up or anything else if it'll save it—save the plan. That's the whole point."

The atmosphere in Washington in the wake of the latest tapes fiasco was described by William Shannon in the July 16 *New York Times*. While Nixon "tries to show his unconcern about the grim rumbling so plainly heard in the streets of the capital," wrote Shannon, "Washington takes on the disconnected unreal atmosphere of the capital of Laos or Cambodia where terrible sounds are always rumbling in the distance and where



Senator Ervin reveals recommendations of Watergate committee—a lot of baloney.

everything is so desperate that nothing is serious."

The whole Watergate experience is "like watching a slow avalanche," Shannon wrote.

"Only if the President on the night of that fateful disclosure had summoned up the ruthlessness to destroy every last one of the tapes might he have been able to brazen his way to safety. . . ." Shannon said.

But Nixon "procrastinated and was lost."

This sharp reminder of the fatal dangers of procrastination might well have been aimed at the Judiciary Committee and other ruling class institutions trying to find their way out of Watergate. The capitalist class seems more and more to be afflicted with a paralysis of the will in the face of the deepening scandal. As the rulers drift back and forth between what they view as the horrors of impeachment and the equally horrendous perspective of letting Nixon survive until 1976, about all they seem able to do is pray that somehow Watergate will just go away.

But the more they procrastinate, the more and more difficult it will be to solve their problem. Like Nixon, they keep getting in deeper and deeper.

Their inability to move decisively was highlighted last week in the reports released by the Senate Watergate committee and the House Judiciary Committee.

The Democrats and Republicans on the two committees decided to steer clear of the question of Nixon's guilt altogether, and to just report "the facts."

## Senate cover-up

On July 13 the Senate Watergate committee released a 2,217-page final version of the report on its 17-month investigation. Almost immediately, members of the committee staff blasted its contents.

"The Senators really backed down," one staff aide told the *New York Post*. "They had a lot of damaging evidence, but decided to make the report sound like any other Congressional paper."

Significant changes were made between the initial drafting of the report and its final version. Among the items deleted in the final report was the charge that John Mitchell approved the intelligence plan that led to the Watergate break-in and several charges of misuse of campaign funds by Democrats George McGovern and Hubert Humphrey.

The capitalist media, however, has played up the recommendations of the Senate committee report for how future Watergates can be prevented.

These recommendations are a joke. They call for more of the same "clean campaign" legislation that has been Congress's only answer to Watergate in two years.

The committee itself had to concede that "legislation is, at best, a blunt weapon to combat immorality." Especially, the senators might have pointed out, when the laws are passed by corrupt politicians to give corrupt officials more authority to end corruption by corrupt politicians!

Most of the recommendations simply call for making it more illegal to do things that are already illegal—such as stealing opponent candidates' property, spying on other campaigns, and bribery. Some proposals deal with limiting cash contributions to candidates. The senators meekly ask only for a "re-evaluation" of present wiretap legislation.

But a band-aid here or there will not make a dent in the undemocratic campaign practices revealed by Watergate. As long as the bankers and big businessmen who control both the Democratic and Republican parties stay in power, these practices will continue.

## Gurney gets nailed

An ironic reminder of this was the recent indictment of one of the Senate committee's own members, Senator Edward Gurney (R-Fla.), on federal charges of influence-peddling and extortion.

Perhaps Gurney, a Nixon ally, will be first in line to take advantage of another proposal of the Senate committee, for a "public attorney" who would prosecute cases "in which there is a real or apparent conflict of interest within the executive branch." The committee's report explained why such a post would be useful in coping with the post-Watergate morality:

"The Attorney General should find such an office advantageous in cases involving charges against Administration officials or persons otherwise close to high executive officers, particularly where a proper exercise of discretion not to prosecute would give rise to public suspicion of cover-up."

In other words, whenever the attorney general can't get away with letting a fellow crook off without trial, the "public attorney" could step in to cover up the case under the guise of a full, nonpartisan investigation.

Nixon's attorney general could never have gotten away with the plea bargaining and light sentencing that the "independent" prosecutor Leon Jaworski has arranged for Watergate crooks.

In the meantime, the House Ju-

diciary Committee has released the first eight volumes of evidence it has collected. Committee Chairman Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) explained in his forward to the report that certain material had to be deleted because it was "classified or otherwise required confidential treatment."

It was reported previously that information on Nixon's secret Cambodia bombing will not be made public. In addition, it is highly likely that the committee will keep most of the Huston spy plan documentation under wraps.

## Domestic surveillance

The July 15 *Wall Street Journal* reported that "one of the additional volumes of impeachment information due to be released this week will be devoted to domestic surveillance." The *Journal* predicted that "the lawmakers may be more sympathetic to the national security argument than was Ehrlichman's trial judge, Gerhard Gesell, who ruled flatly that it wasn't an excuse. . . ."

This is also the impression the impeachment panel has given to the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the committee building support for the suit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against illegal government surveillance.

PRDF staff member Dan Rosenshine recently inquired if the impeachment panel would be publishing all its material on the Huston plan, since the plan has important ramifications for the socialist suit. John Kennahan, a lawyer with the impeachment inquiry staff, told Rosenshine he would be surprised if *any* information not already public will be released on the Huston plan.

"Earlier, Kennahan had explained to me that when he or others wanted to look over these still-secret documents, they had to examine them in a locked room under guard," Rosenshine told *The Militant*.

"Now Kennahan says these documents cannot be published because of 'security.' He claims they were obtained 'in trust and confidence from the CIA; that is, through conduits from the CIA, and have to be returned.'"

In other words, the House Judiciary Committee is helping the snoopers of the CIA, FBI, and White House to keep the lid on their illegal spying operations. By suppressing this kind of evidence, the impeachment panel is demonstrating once again that its main concern is to restore faith in the capitalist system, not to bring the real criminals to justice.



NIXON: Procrastinator

# Watergate & American politics-II

# Why capitalists couldn't keep the lid

Second of a series  
By LARRY SEIGLE

Why did Nixon's cover-up operation come unstuck? The liberals' answer is that a vigilant free press, an honest judge named Sirica, and a vigorous investigation by Congress uncovered the truth about Tricky Dick.

This answer is a complete fabrication. The truth is that for almost a full year after the Watergate break-in in June 1972, the ruling class and Nixon were cooperating in the cover-up. It was only when the Nixon administration ran into serious trouble with the American people on inflation, cutbacks, and other issues that the true Watergate story began to be exposed. By tracing the evolution of this process, we can cut through the liberal propaganda about Watergate and see the true nature of the problems facing the ruling class today.

In an article last week, we pointed out that Watergate is a reflection of the profound crisis of confidence on the part of the American people in the institutions of capitalist rule. America's rulers hoped that the end of the Vietnam war would usher in an era of social peace at home, allowing them to definitively reverse this process of radicalization and restore confidence in the capacity of the capitalist institutions to meet the needs of the American people. But far from ending when the antiwar protests ended, these radical attitudes have continued and have spread.

## Myth of Nixon's 'mandate'

The reality of this continuing radicalization, in the period from the end of the direct U.S. combat role in Vietnam to the beginning of Nixon's Water-

Nixon completely undercut McGovern's "peace" campaign. Throughout the campaign, Nixon masqueraded as a "peace" candidate. In the spring of 1972 he opened the period of détente with his extravaganza journeys to Peking and to Moscow. He stressed over and over throughout the campaign that he had withdrawn 500,000 of the American troops sent to Vietnam by his Democratic predecessors.

When Kissinger made his election-eve "peace is at hand" statement, most Americans were convinced that the war was on the verge of ending.

But there was certainly no majority enthusiasm for Nixon. In fact, one of the most significant indications of the mood of the American people in November 1972 was the extremely low vote. Only 54 percent of the voters went to the polls, the lowest percentage since 1948.

## Christmas bombing

The reality of the massive distrust of Nixon, and the depth of the determination to compel him to keep his promise of ending the war, were illuminated soon after the election by the massive outpouring of antiwar actions that greeted the vicious Christmas 1972 bombing of Vietnam.

Nixon's savage bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong provoked an international outcry and a powerful upsurge of antiwar action at home. The American people were enraged at the betrayal of their hope for peace after years of slaughter in Vietnam. The reaction was massive and it was deep. Even pilots of the B-52 bombers protested the resumption of the air war, and some refused

the family. You give him some responsibility and he is going to amount to something. . . . If, on the other hand, you make him completely dependent and pamper him and cater to him too much, you are going to make him soft, spoiled and eventually a weak individual."

Vowing to eliminate what he called "handouts," Nixon warned, "The people are going to have to carry their share of the load." With this arrogant Scrooge-like flourish, the president proceeded to chop away at spending for social needs—an offensive that hit at the working class, and affected Blacks and other minorities, the unemployed, and the unorganized workers the hardest. Government spending for education, health care, housing, child care, job training, medical and other scientific research, and other such "luxuries" was cut.

But the "children" soon began to give "Daddy" a hard time. Cutbacks were met with militant demonstrations, especially by Blacks. Working women and other parents mobilized against cutbacks in funding for child care. The anger ran deep.

Some of the protests were successful in forcing a postponement or even cancellation of the planned spending cuts.

It was in this period—the first few months of his second term—that Nixon's popularity ratings began skidding downwards. As the chart marking Nixon's popularity on this page shows, this sharp decline predated the big Watergate disclosures. The key factors were the spending cutbacks, the continuing inflation, and the lasting impact made by the Christmas bombing, despite the temporary upsurge in approval around the time the Paris accords were finally signed.

It soon became clear that Nixon's "mandate" was merely an illusion concocted by the press agents in the White House. And it was in this turbulent political atmosphere in the early part of 1973 that the Watergate cover-up began to come unraveled.

## Massive discontent

Nixon's second term opened to massive public expressions of discontent over skyrocketing prices. Prices took a big leap in early 1973, leading to heightened anger on the part of tens of millions who saw each week's new price hikes eat away at their paychecks.

In April, this seething anger burst through to the surface and found expression in the form of the meat boycott: a mass, spontaneous protest by workers as consumers—led primarily by housewives. This powerful action was a big blow to Nixon and his administration.

This same kind of militant, independent action would later be repeated by some unions and consumer groups. In the San Francisco area a union-led coalition held protests against inflation on April 28; in the fall, Operation PUSH in Chicago spearheaded a demonstration against high prices. While not massive, these organized protests were significant; they contained the potential to grow and spread. Later, the independent truck drivers, in an action that had a major impact, would display the same kind of militancy in their nationwide shutdown.

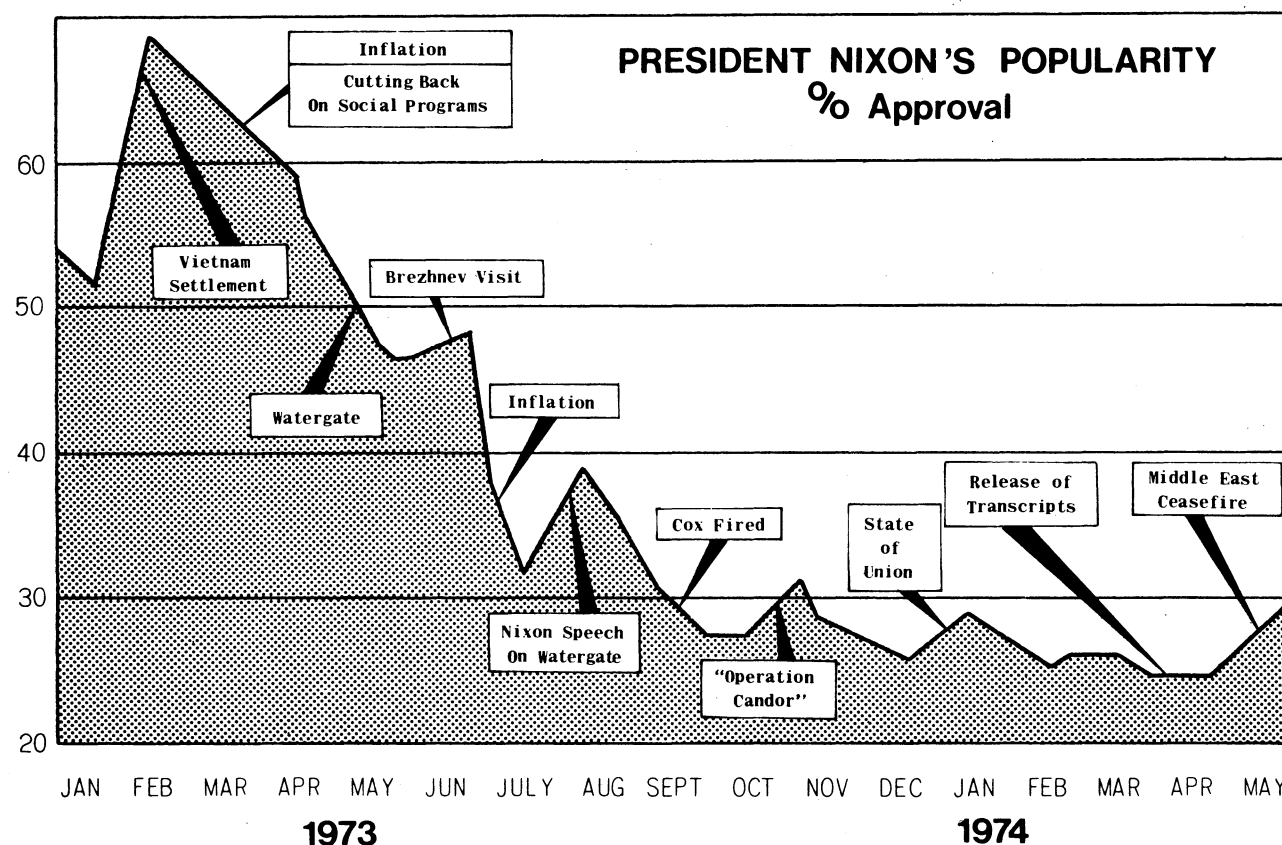
## Meany's break with Nixon

The pressure of massive working-class dissatisfaction with Nixon's economic policies had an effect in bringing the honeymoon between Nixon and the AFL-CIO's president, George Meany, to an early end.

The AFL-CIO executive board, whipped into line by the federation's prowar, hidebound president, had been officially neutral in the Nixon-McGovern contest. In the context of the union bureaucracy's traditional support for the Democrats' presidential nominee, this was universally interpreted—as intended by Meany—as a policy of "neutral for Nixon."

But the "neutrality" of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats was not due to any support for Nixon's economic and social program by the American workers. Nor was it the result of any decision to abandon the bureaucrats' practice of hustling workers' votes for the Democrats.

Rather, Meany's refusal to back McGovern was part of his strategy to ensure the defeat of the "reform" wing of the Democratic Party, which had so unceremoniously toppled Meany and his crowd from their power-broker positions at the Democratic convention in Miami. (This temporary frac-



Gallup chart shows Nixon's popularity plunge began before major Watergate revelations. Inflation and government cutbacks in early 1973, combined with revulsion at Christmas bombing of North Vietnam, produced sharp drops in confidence in White House that made it impossible to maintain Watergate cover-up.

gate crisis, was obscured for many people by the myth of Nixon's 1972 "mandate."

Nixon claimed that his election landslide over George McGovern represented a popular ratification of his reactionary social program. This program included thinly disguised racist appeals to relatively privileged whites, aimed at justifying major cutbacks in social spending. This pitch was accompanied by attempts to shift the resentment and frustration at high taxes and inflation toward the poor, appeals to "law and order," and other racist demagoguery.

Nixon promised to reduce inflation by cutting back government spending on social programs (while increasing war spending to record levels) and continuing wage controls. He also tried to use anticommunism and patriotism as vote-catchers.

But the "mandate" was a mirage. The landslide was not based on any enthusiasm for Nixon or his domestic program, although his racist appeals did win him some votes from a layer of the more backward workers and middle-class Americans. The overriding issue in the election was the Vietnam war, and the majority of Americans were convinced that the Nixon administration had succeeded in negotiating an end to the war.

to fly missions over Vietnam.

Nixon's second inauguration, held on Jan. 20, 1973, saw gigantic antiwar protests, with 100,000 marching in Washington and tens of thousands elsewhere in the country. Had Nixon not succeeded, with the help of Mao and Brezhnev, in getting the Vietnam accords signed shortly after these protests, there is little doubt that the antiwar upsurge would have developed into the most massive expression of opposition in the history of the entire war.

This reaction to the Christmas bombing was an important element in setting the stage for the unraveling of the Watergate cover-up. It was like the heat lightning before the Watergate storm: the American people simply *didn't believe* Nixon's excuse for the unleashing of the air fleet over North Vietnam, and they didn't trust his motives.

## Attack on 'permissiveness'

In the weeks immediately following his election victory, Nixon bared his true contempt for the American people in the form of an attack on "permissiveness." "The average American," the triumphant candidate declared, "is just like the child in



# on the White House cover-up plan



Militant/Howard Petrick

Nixon's arrogant cutbacks in early 1973 were met by militant protests, such as this San Francisco demonstration against the closing of child-care centers.

turing of the coalition that makes up the Democratic Party was another result of the impact of the Vietnam war on American politics. The legacy of the Johnson-Humphrey years, in which a Democratic president was administering the war, took a heavy toll on the Democrats, both in 1968 and in 1972.)

Meany's orientation during the 1972 elections was in reality toward the Democratic Party. By ensuring the smashing defeat of the candidate of the "crazies"—as Meany viewed the McGovern backers—Meany was trying to grease his way back into the top party councils.

Thus, when Nixon's popularity plummeted in early 1973, it required no basic change in policy for Meany to open fire on the man he had just helped to elect. At the end of April, Meany issued a blistering attack on Nixon, accusing his administration of using "the big lie technique" about the economy.

The administration, Meany charged, "has embarked on a new propaganda campaign designed to hide the facts of soaring inflation, continued high unemployment, mounting budget deficits and a shocking drop in public confidence." He charged that Nixon was "cruelly dismantling social programs."

## Nixon's vulnerability

It was under the impact of these strains and the pressure of the declining efficacy of the Nixon administration at home that the Watergate cover-up began to come undone. The political atmosphere was just not conducive to protecting Nixon from attack.

A popular president, U.S. history shows, can get away with almost any kind of dirty trick. Franklin Roosevelt, for example, pulled every maneuver in the book. He tried to pack the Supreme Court; he and J. Edgar Hoover transformed the FBI from a gangbusters outfit into a political police force relying on wiretapping, infiltration of political groups, and continual frame-ups of unionists, socialists, and other "subversives"; and he even set up the Pacific fleet for the Japanese "sneak" attack on Pearl Harbor in order to whip up support for U.S. imperialist war aims. In many ways, he makes Nixon look like a small-town con artist.

But millions of American workers supported Roosevelt. They supported him because they identified his administration with major gains won in the 1930s, including the right to organize unions, the Social Security system, and other social reforms. They viewed criticism of him as most likely originating from the bosses.

Nixon lacked this kind of support. An unpopular president is vulnerable to all kinds of attacks. And Nixon was becoming very unpopular.

His problem was especially acute because of the profound crisis of confidence in the institutions of capitalist rule that had been growing for some time. It wasn't a period in which the masses could be appealed to on the basis of "trusting in the president."

## Ruling class's cover-up

There had been, since the Watergate burglary itself, cooperation between virtually all the capitalist newspapers and almost all the politicians in not pursuing the glaringly obvious trail of Watergate.

The break-in occurred on June 17, 1972. Five men carrying wiretapping gear and photographic equipment were arrested in the offices of the Democratic National Committee. There was overwhelming and unambiguous evidence of a high White House connection from the start. One of the burglars, James McCord, was the security chief employed by CREEP, Nixon's campaign committee. Another carried an address book containing the name of a White House employee, E. Howard Hunt. The men carried stacks of \$100 bills, easily traceable. All were connected either with the CIA or with Cuban exile groups.

An "investigation" was begun—and dragged out for months. A poll in October, just one month before the elections, showed that only one-half of the public was even aware of Watergate. Tidbits continued to be published in the newspapers, particularly the *Washington Post*, but the investigation could hardly be described as energetic. The Senate Watergate committee wasn't even set up until eight months after the break-in.

It wasn't until the Watergate burglary defendants appeared for sentencing on March 23, 1973, that a letter from McCord, implicating a number of White House higher-ups, was released by Judge Sirica. Here is one of the points where the role of the individual in Watergate becomes important: McCord's devastating letter was an attempt to save himself by dragging down those higher up.

Once the letter was public, the complete White House cover-up could no longer be maintained. As soon as any of the dozens of loose threads of the scandal were picked up and pulled, the entire fabric of "containment" would begin to disintegrate.

## 'Cut the losses'

When things reached this point, the capitalist rulers became convinced that some concessions had to be made, and some high-level officials were thrown to the wolves, to cut the losses and contain the scandal. In this, Nixon was willing to sacrifice people up to a point (namely himself).

But, as they had in Vietnam, the ruling class miscalculated on Watergate. They failed to move quickly or decisively enough to contain the scandal. And once again they underestimated the degree to which the political and social attitudes of the American people had been transformed.

The Nixon gang mistakenly believed that they could "tough it out." They thought the scandal would consume a few subordinates, run its course, and then pass into history. After all, political scandals were nothing new in American politics: there had been Teapot Dome, Sherman Adams, Billy Sol Estes, and many others—including the bridge at Chappaquiddick.

It was this expectation that led Nixon to observe in one of the taped meetings at the White House: "It [Watergate] confuses the public. The public is bored with this thing already."

And Haldeman suggested: "To folks out there just... give an answer and get it out of the way. That's all. They don't care."

But as the American people showed they weren't bored with the startling revelations, Nixon stepped up the intensity of his appeals. Much to his frustration and disappointment, he found that the values he was appealing to no longer carried sway.

"Don't drag America down," he pleaded, aiming at patriotism. He urged people to believe his denials of wrongdoing, to "trust in the president." And he repeatedly invoked "national security" to justify his actions and the continuing cover-up.

But these were the very arguments that had been used, and discredited, in defense of the war in Vietnam. They just didn't work any more.

As it became clear that Watergate wasn't going to fade away, but was cutting deeper and deeper, the question facing the ruling class became how to prevent the reaction to Watergate from spread-

ing into an even greater rejection by masses of Americans of the institutions of capitalist rule. The capitalists began to discuss the necessity of sacrificing not just some of the subordinate crooks involved, but the number one conspirator himself. And they weighed the price they would have to pay if they were forced to discredit the man they had chosen to administer the state apparatus only a year before.

Painful as it was, they began to come to the conclusion that it was necessary to cut out the cancer in order to shore up mass illusions in the system of American bourgeois democracy. Even if the cancer was in the Oval Office.

## Flashpoint: War in Mideast

One of the flashpoints that made the capitalist class acutely aware of the depth of the problem they faced occurred during the Mideast war in October 1973. Nixon, in an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with the Soviet Union, put U.S. military forces around the world on alert. He brought the world right to the brink of nuclear holocaust.

But the American people shrugged it off as largely a ploy to divert attention from Watergate. What was actually a grave threat of thermonuclear war was dismissed as a public-relations stunt by the president of the United States. This casual rejection of a president's appeal to the needs of "national security" was a shock to the imperialist powers who control this country.

What if the rulers should find it necessary, as they do periodically, to send troops somewhere abroad to crush a popular rebellion? Nixon's "mandate" clearly doesn't include support for an-



Militant/Dick Roberts

Anger over inflation suddenly burst to surface in massive April 1973 meat boycott.

other colonial war. Or what if the troops were needed not in Africa, Asia, or Latin America, but in Harlem, or Watts, or to break a strike? Could Nixon pull it off?

As the editors of the *New York Times* summed it up at the time of the Mideast war: "... if even at a moment of potential nuclear crisis, questions have to be put about the motives of the man or men making those decisions, the crisis of authority in this country is exacting too great a price to be paid."

Up to this time, the idea of impeachment had been anathema to almost all the politicians in Congress. As late as June 1973, when Representative Paul McCloskey (R.-Calif.) tried to introduce a discussion of impeachment he was immediately cut off in midsentence by a quorum call. (The quorum never was assembled.)

On July 31, liberal Democrat Robert Drinan of Massachusetts introduced the first resolution formally demanding the impeachment of Nixon, but it was immediately buried in committee. As Senate Democratic Whip Robert Byrd of Virginia, proclaimed, impeachment was "at best premature and at worst reckless."

But Watergate continued to refuse to go away, and impeachment began to be considered by the capitalist class as a serious option. It began to look more and more like a necessary step to restore faith in the institutions of bourgeois rule—faith that has been shaken by Vietnam, by inflation, by Watergate, and other problems.

The contradictions and complications of the "impeachment solution" will be the subject of next week's article.



# FBI informer reveals 'disruption' plot is still used against Young Socialist Alliance

By ELAINE MITCHELL

An FBI informer who infiltrated the Bloomington, Ind., Young Socialist Alliance this past June has confirmed that the tactics of the FBI's "disruption program" are still in use.

In a recent interview, James Nilson, the informer, gave a detailed description of his spying activities during the brief time he was in the YSA. Most significant is his disclosure that the FBI directed him to disrupt the functioning of the YSA.

Nilson said his FBI contact, Bob Stevenson, told him in late June that "in a couple of weeks we would try to figure out ways to disrupt YSA activities, to get people angry at each other, to force people out of YSA, because he thought [it was] getting too big."

Nilson was discovered to be an informer before he could begin to carry out these disruptive tactics. However, his description of the FBI's strategy conforms in every respect to the infamous COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program") operation initiated by J. Edgar Hoover in the 1960s.

## 'Disrupt & neutralize'

In one memo, Hoover said the purpose of COINTELPRO "is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" left groups.

In a memo written by Hoover in 1967 about spying on Black groups, the FBI head specifically suggested the kind of tactics the Bloomington FBI hoped to put into action against the YSA: "... no opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leadership of the groups. . . ."

The FBI itself has admitted—in response to a suit by the YSA and Socialist Workers Party—that it initiated an "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961. This and all other COINTELPRO operations were terminated by 1971, the FBI claims.

But there is ample proof—Nilson's disclosures are only the latest—that the methods of the COINTELPRO programs remain in effect, not only against the YSA and SWP, but against other left groups, Black liberation organizations, and others.

Nilson supplied information about his work for the FBI in an interview in Bloomington on June 29. Two leaders of the local YSA chapter, Henry Slubowski and Dennis Drake, conducted the interview, which was taped.

Later, Nilson tried to retract the interview, claiming he had made up the facts and events he had described. Evidently under intense pressure from the FBI, he refused to sign an affidavit verifying the information he had given in the interview.

Despite this denial, the YSA members in Bloomington who talked with Nilson have no doubt about the authenticity of the information he pro-



J. Edgar Hoover urged agents to sow divisions within radical groups as part of FBI Disruption Program.

vided. "The interview he gave us was too elaborate, too detailed, and too consistent to be a fabrication," Drake told *The Militant*.

"We're convinced the key things he told us are true. He knew too much about FBI harassment of individual YSA members. Moreover, his story is completely consistent with the way the FBI has functioned in the past," Drake said.

## Socialist suit

The events Nilson described provide new evidence for the SWP and YSA suit against government harassment. This suit charges the FBI and other federal agencies with a campaign of attacks on SWP and YSA members, including illegal surveillance, visits to landlords and employers, police infiltration, burglary, and bombing. The suit was filed in July 1973 by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin.

Nilson's interview offers clear-cut proof of the kind of blanket surveillance of YSA and SWP members that the suit charges.

Nilson was directed by Bloomington FBI agent Bob Stevenson to join the YSA because, "We need information about the YSA in Bloomington." Stevenson told Nilson that while the YSA is a relatively small organization today, "intelligence gathering" was necessary because, "20, 40, 50 years from now, if a revolution occurred, they would be way ahead of the YSA and SWP, knowing who everybody is and what their activities were and so on."

The FBI told Nilson "that the YSA and SWP are probably the most dangerous revolutionary organizations in the country today because they're the best organized of all the left-wing groups."

Nilson received several cash payments from the FBI in return for supplying information on a regular basis about YSA activities. Stevenson "gave me a specific list . . . of information they want. Every six months they're supposed to fill out a report," Nilson said. The information included the names of YSA members, their addresses, places of work, and a list of the leaders of the YSA.

## Job harassment

Stevenson hinted to Nilson that one reason for getting workplaces was so that the FBI could talk to YSA members' employers and try to get them fired. This had happened shortly before Nilson joined the YSA, when FBI harassment led to YSA member Marc Schulz losing his job.

Schulz, who is also the treasurer of the Indiana SWP campaign, had consulted with lawyers about the possibility of legal action to win back his job, and the FBI was concerned with this. Stevenson "was interested in knowing who [Marc's] lawyers were and anything like that. . . . at subsequent meetings he continued to ask me about Marc," said Nilson.

On one occasion, Nilson said he asked an FBI agent if belonging to the YSA meant one could not get a government job. "... the agent specifically stated that if I joined the YSA without being an informant that I would never in my life be able to get a government job."

The FBI was also quite interested in the activities of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group that is building support for the socialists' Watergate suit. "They want to know all about it they can," Nilson explained.

In their suit, the SWP and YSA charge that FBI surveillance not only invades the privacy of their members, but is also directed at trying to in-



ids/Steve Yeater

Young Socialist Alliance helped organize this 1973 Bloomington protest to defend political prisoners in Chile. FBI told its informer to give agents three days' notice of such demonstrations.

timidate potential supporters. Nilson's revelations bear this out too.

Part of what he called the "FBI's shopping list" of information were lists of any people who participated in YSA activities, including public activities such as classes. "... they still wanted to know who attends educational, whether they're members of YSA or not. They wanted to know anybody connected with YSA and SWP because, according to Bob Stevenson, people in any left movements are potentially dangerous people. . . ."

In other words, anyone who attends a class on socialism, hears a socialist candidate speak, or even accepts a socialist leaflet is "potentially dangerous" in the eyes of the FBI! This is the excuse the government snoopers use for their harassment of YSA supporters in an attempt to drive them away from contact with socialists.

The "subversive" label the FBI tries to pin on the YSA and SWP has also been used to discourage support for socialist candidates in Indiana. Recently a county clerk in the state announced that anyone signing petitions for Indiana SWP candidates to get on the ballot could come to her office and remove their name if they so desired. In a blatant attempt at intimidation, she "reminded" people that the FBI regularly checks the names on such petitions!

## Farm workers, Blacks

Nilson also revealed that the FBI wanted him to keep close tabs on support activities for the United Farm Workers and African liberation struggles. When a picket line was planned to back African freedom fighters, the FBI "wanted me to find out more information about what Black groups [the YSA was] to contact and for me to give them any information and three days' notice about when the picket line was going to be."

The FBI also paid close attention to foreign students who worked with the YSA and requested lists of such students from Nilson.

While Stevenson was assigned in the FBI to cover the YSA, Nilson discovered "that there was another agent surveying the Communist Party here in town, that someone's in charge of watching the International Socialists."

For these agents, Nilson said, these

political surveillance assignments "are considered their prime jobs and they're also allocated to bank robberies and all of that stuff."

Throughout the time Nilson worked for the FBI, he was told to be very secretive about his role. "I was supposed to write any report in third person," he said, "I was supposed to put down who was in attendance at all meetings, including my real name so that if anyone got hold of it they wouldn't know who it was that was the informant."

When he made visits to the local FBI office, Nilson added, "I went in the Internal Revenue door and when I came out they had me come out through the Internal Revenue Service so that if anyone saw me I could say I was in the Internal Revenue Service for tax purposes."

## FBI 'unhappy'

According to Nilson, one of the things that bothered FBI agent Stevenson was the public activity of the YSA that was gaining new adherents to the socialist perspective.

Stevenson was "unhappy," for example, that the YSA has a regular column in the *Indiana Daily Student*, the Bloomington campus newspaper, where it presents the views of revolutionary socialism. This bothered Stevenson, "especially how big the column was," Nilson said.

Stevenson was also displeased that new people were joining the YSA. "YSA is growing and attracting more members over a short period of time and this makes him very unhappy," Nilson explained. It was the growing influence of the YSA that Stevenson gave as a reason for disrupting YSA functioning, "with the purpose in mind of getting people disillusioned and to drop out of the organization," according to Nilson.

But like other Watergate-style attacks by the U.S. government, this one backfired. Rather than making people "disillusioned" with the socialist perspective, the exposure of how the U.S. government actually rules is opening the eyes of many people to the need to throw out the capitalist system and replace it with a totally new society.

# Public hearing set for Minn. socialists on refusal to give gov't names of contributors

By FRANK BOEHM

MINNEAPOLIS—The battle over the wave of campaign financing "reform" laws is currently focused here in Minnesota.

A public hearing will be held July 23 in which the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee will present evidence and witnesses proving that forcing them to turn over to the government names and addresses of campaign contributors would be tantamount to giving the government a ready-made "enemies list."

The socialist campaign will present documentation proving a pattern of harassment of its supporters by government agencies. The committee is demanding that it be exempted from complying with the disclosure provisions of the new Minnesota campaign financing law.

The July 23 hearing by the State Ethics Commission, the agency in charge of administering Minnesota's law, will be held at the state capitol in St. Paul. The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee is appealing to supporters of democratic rights around the country to send telegrams to the commission demanding that the socialists be exempted from disclosing their contributors. Statements from prominent individuals and organizations are being solicited.

Last month the Socialist Workers

campaign committees around the country refused to comply with the disclosure requirements of the federal campaign financing law. The socialists stated that the government has no right to harass their supporters and then turn around and ask for the names and addresses of more people to harass. The national campaign committee has demanded a hearing on this issue from the federal government.

If the hearing is denied, the American Civil Liberties Union will seek a federal court ruling that the disclosure provision of the law violates the constitutional rights of freedom of expression and political association when applied to the Socialist Workers campaign committees.

The Minnesota case is the first of the state challenges to be heard and is a test case of national importance. If an exemption is given to the Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee it will have an effect in other states, as well as on the federal government.

The precedent-setting nature of this case makes it all the more important that as much public support as possible be mobilized.

Minnesota's law, like others across the country, requires campaign committees to detail income and expenditure, including the exact amount, name, address, and place of business of each contributor of more than \$100. It also requires reports from candidates, lobbyists, and any associations making campaign contributions.

On June 27 the Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee demanded that the State Ethics Commission exempt the committee from disclosing names. The commission responded by granting a temporary suspension of reporting requirements and set the July 23 hearing.

With the hearing date set, the campaign committee secured the help of Doug Hall, a prominent civil liberties attorney currently involved in the Wounded Knee trial, and Jerry Peterson from the Legal Rights Center. The committee began documenting a wide range of evidence of government surveillance and harassment of campaign supporters and began gathering support from around the state.

At a news conference here on July 16, Jane Van Deusen, SWP gubernatorial candidate; Maceo Dixon, co-chairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Ed Jurenas, SWP congressional nominee; and attorney Doug Hall explained the issues in the case.

"I have here sworn affidavits," said Van Deusen, holding up the documents, "of more than 50 recent incidents of police-state-type harassment of members of the SWP, its candi-



Militant/Mark Allen

Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota, presents evidence of harassment of campaign supporters at news conference. Maceo Dixon (left) and Ralph Schwartz look on.

dates — including myself — and supporters here in Minnesota.

"The cases we cite include surveillance, mail tampering, loss of employment, intimidation, interrogation, burglaries where only political files were rifled, harassment, and right-wing provocation. And many of these bear the mark of the FBI's counterintelligence programs aimed against Black organizations and labor, socialist, and other opponents of government policies. These incidents are clearly part and parcel of the FBI's 'SWP Disruption Program,' which continues against my party to this day.

"In light of the evidence we have amassed, it is absurd for the government to force us to disclose the names and addresses of our campaign contributors so it will be that much easier for them to carry out this harassment program. We refuse!"

"These so-called reform laws," Van Deusen continued, "are phony from the word go. While parading under the guise of 'cleaning up politics,' they are really aimed at making it much more difficult for smaller parties, trade unions, Black organizations and other groups to take their ideas and programs to the American working people by running in elections and supporting candidates. Instead of 'getting rid of big money politics' as they claim, these laws simply strengthen the monopoly that the two capitalist parties have on the electoral system. More and more people are sick and tired of the warmongering, racist, Watergate policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. These laws are designed to give those sagging parties a boost and keep people from hearing about an alternative to them."

The civil liberties issues involved

in the challenge were explained by attorney Doug Hall. "The legislation requiring disclosure of contributors," he said, "is aimed at the massive corruption that has been disclosed in recent months. This has utterly no relevance to the functioning of radical parties. But as a part of the blanket requirement of disclosure of contributors you have a tremendous threat to the functioning of minority parties."

The evidence, Hall said, reveals a "pattern of harassment by the FBI, the Minnesota police department, and, very importantly, by private citizens who use information secured from government agencies to carry on their own individual campaigns of intimidation and harassment of the Socialist Workers Party."

Continued on page 22

## Camejo, Dixon to be at rally



Peter Camejo

A rally in support of the exemption fight will be held Sat., July 20, at 7:30 p.m. at 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Speakers at the rally include Peter Camejo, treasurer of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Maceo Dixon, co-chairman of the national campaign committee; and Jane Van Deusen.

## Sen. McCarthy backs fight

The following statement was released last month by former Minnesota senator Eugene McCarthy in support of Socialist Workers campaign committees' right to be exempted from disclosing the identities of their contributors under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971:

"I have grave doubts about the constitutionality of the disclosure laws as they relate to all parties, and I particularly think that the consequences of the Socialist Workers Party releasing names to the government requires that an exception be made."

# SWP files for ballot spot in Minnesota

By MARY HILLERY

ST. PAUL—On July 11 the Minnesota Socialist Workers Party filed 5,510 signatures on nominating petitions with the secretary of state to place the party's candidates on the November ballot.

The SWP nominees are Jane Van Deusen for governor, Ralph Schwartz for lieutenant governor, and Ed Jurenas for Congress from the 5th C.D.

In spite of 101-degree heat, campaign supporters were able in just one week to collect far more than the 3,000 signatures required by law. A number of signers remembered Van

Deusen's 1973 mayoral campaign against racist ex-cop Charles Stenvig.

To date only Van Deusen and Democratic incumbent Wendell Anderson have filed for the gubernatorial race.

At a news conference the day of the filing, socialist congressional candidate Ed Jurenas was asked how easy it had been to collect signatures.

Jurenas replied that receptivity to the SWP petitioners was very high. However, he added, a certain number of people wanted to sign but didn't, out of fear that their names would appear on an FBI list. Several people

who said they worked for the state or county, and one law student looking for a job, said they couldn't take this risk.

Jurenas commented that while Watergate has exposed some of the illegal activities of the Democrats and Republicans in government, it has also made many people aware of the secret lists that can be wielded by federal, state, or local agencies against anyone who supports dissenting views or even the right of dissenters to be heard.

While the SWP candidates were signing their affidavits of candidacy, Van

Deusen confronted Secretary of State Arlen Erdahl with the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision knocking down filing fees for candidates who cannot afford them. Erdahl defended the state attorney general's ruling that each candidate must pay a \$100 filing fee or forfeit ballot status.

The SWP opposes all such undemocratic restrictions on access to the ballot. The SWP candidates have also spoken out in defense of the Socialist Labor Party's right to ballot status, which has come under attack by the attorney general, who may rule their petitions invalid.



## City workers strike

Workers around the country are continuing a wave of strike actions in an effort to bring their wages in line with soaring prices.

Some of the most militant of the recent strike actions have been by low-paid public employees, many of whom are Black. Three thousand Baltimore sanitation workers and other city employees returned to their jobs last week after a two-week strike broke through the city's 6 percent limit on wage increases.

In Baltimore, as elsewhere, city officials pleaded poverty. "Nobody has ever asserted that 6 percent meets the cost of living," one arrogantly stated. "Our position is that the city is in tough shape and that 6 percent is all the city can afford." The bosses, in this case the government, use the threat of tax increases to pit city employees against other overtaxed working people.

Public workers' unions can add a powerful weapon to their arsenal by responding that funds to make the cities decent places to live must come from the profits of the giant corporations, not from the workers. By taxing these profit-bloated industries, and by eliminating the \$100-billion war budget, money could easily be found for massive financial aid to the cities to provide needed social services and jobs at living wages.

Public workers are also shackled by antistrike laws. They are often liable to jail terms and outrageous fines just for struggling for their rights. Arguing against a "forgive and forget" attitude toward the Baltimore strikers, the editors of the *New York Times* declared: "A moral or legal ban against such strikes rests on the theory that those charged with the public security assume that responsibility when they sign on. They are not free to abandon it as a pressure device to improve working conditions."

This type of demagoguery was succinctly answered by a striking New Hampshire teacher at the recent National Education Association convention. "Public service is not the same as public servitude," she said.

Besides, the real bosses of the municipal employees are not "the public"—that is, the working people of the city—but the Democrats and Republicans who control the capitalist state. In attacking struggles by municipal workers, they show their true colors as strikebreakers and enemies of the trade unions.

The best interests of public employees and all working people would be served by the unions breaking with these two capitalist parties and launching an independent political party of labor. Decent wages, protected against inflation by cost-of-living escalator provisions, and the unconditional right to strike for all workers would be inscribed on the banner of a labor party.

## Korean repression

Korea was the Vietnam of the 1950s. As in Vietnam, the U. S. imperialists intervened in an attempt to crush a social revolution and maintain capitalism.

As in Vietnam, Washington ordered the systematic napalming of peasant villages and the deportation of hundreds of thousands to concentration camps.

As in Vietnam, the torture and murder of unarmed prisoners was a matter of official policy.

The imperialist butchers killed more than two million Koreans in their drive to defeat the revolution there, and to this day they maintain an army of 40,000 occupation troops in Korea.

With the growth of new opposition currents, especially among students, South Korea is in the news again. Within the space of a few days the dictatorship of President Park Chung Hee has handed down 14 death sentences. In addition, 15 dissidents have been sentenced to life imprisonment, and 24 others to jail terms of 15 to 20 years.

Among those sentenced to death by a military court July 13 were South Korea's best-known poet, Kim Chi Ha, and a leader of the Korean Student Christian Federation. Kim Chi Ha's "crime" was that he donated about \$450 to a group of student dissidents.

School boycotts are also punishable by death, and some 200 other people are currently facing courts-martial, including former South Korean president Yun Po Sun.

Park Chung Hee may swing the ax, but it was Washington that put it in his hand, and it is Washington that holds the victims down. Both executioners have much to answer for.

### The Militant gets around

There was an article in the *Washington Post* July 7 about the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife. The article centered on the catfish and hush puppies that were the feature of the Mississippi display.

But then there followed a paragraph that shows that *Militant* salespeople don't miss a chance to sell the paper. It goes like this: "There were people on bicycles and people on crutches, policemen on horseback and babies in back packs. . . . Several young people were selling copies of the *Militant* newspaper that had large headlines saying 'Solidarity with Portuguese Workers and African Rebels.'"

"One young woman spent several minutes near the Scandinavian fiddlers trying to explain the relevance of the headline to another woman in a bathing suit. . . ."

D. B.

Washington, D. C.

### Cost of bugging

The federal government's electronic surveillance program for what they call "national security" reasons is repugnant. It's also costing the taxpayers a lot of money.

"A Report on the Costs and Benefits of Electronic Surveillance, 1972," written by a law professor from New York, shows that each snooping device that is installed costs somewhere between \$47,000 and \$142,500. *Each* one costs that much! That means that a thousand such devices—certainly a low estimate—would be costing us between \$40-million and \$140-million.

A. T.

New York, N. Y.

### Capitalist injustice

It makes me angry to see that U. S. justice lays a heavier penalty on somebody stealing quarters from a laundromat than the penalties laid on some of the Watergate creeps.

When I was getting change for a quarter at the laundromat today, I noticed the penalty for trying to get quarters out of the machine was a year in prison and a \$1,000 fine.

This is another example of America's two-faced justice, a smile for the rich, a snarl for the poor.

Bob Mears

Lawrence, Kans.

### Public alert system

The White House taping system is even worse than we thought. Not only does it produce "gaps," "hums," and "unintelligibles," but even a taped message sent to radio stations around the country for a test run of a public alert in the case of a catastrophic emergency was "garbled" and "distorted."

The radio system that President Nixon would use to address the public in case of an emergency is apparently not very reliable. Through a test run they found that a recorded message giving stations a five-minute countdown didn't work; the confusion created by the failure on the countdown message meant that the test message was started late and in some cases not at all; the line relaying the message to at least one network

went dead; and then the message itself was garbled.

This isn't the first time they've had trouble with the system. In a test in 1971 an official warning message drawn up for use in case of an impending nuclear attack was mistakenly flashed to all radio and television stations. No one panicked, however, because almost none of the stations went off the air so the message could be heard!

O. N.

New York, N. Y.

### Regenerate profits

An anaconda snake is a large tropical boa constrictor. In the case of Anaconda Copper Corp., the analogy is more toward those pythons of mythology whose parts regenerate if the whole is not destroyed.

According to its 1973 annual report, Anaconda registered world sales in 1973 of \$1.3-billion, just short of the \$1.4-billion worth of sales in 1969 when the largest U. S. copper trust still owned its gigantic Chuquicamata and El Salvador mines in Chile.

Anaconda's 1973 profits were up 58 percent over 1972. It paid a *fourfold increase* in dividends.

These millions largely derived from the huge jump in copper prices, an aspect of the world inflation of raw materials prices.

Anaconda still possesses large holdings in Canada, Mexico, Australia, Iran, the Netherlands, Brazil, and Jamaica (although the last is newly threatened by nationalization).

If you do not wipe out the whole operation—especially its central basis of power in the United States—it will survive and even continue to expand.

D. R.

New York

### An artist's view

I was very impressed with Harry Ring's memorial tribute to the artist Duncan Ferguson, which was reprinted in the May 24 *Militant*. To me it was a real tribute to *The Militant* that it would carry an article with an honest admission of the difficulty a serious artist faced in a revolutionary socialist party.

Another point in the article that I thought important was the problem of finding an audience ("a wall to paint on") for the artist's work. In the last few years I have found that above anything else this summarizes the problem for artists in capitalist society. Since artists—and there are thousands of quite good ones—have to compete for space to exhibit, a sense of rivalry and distrust often arises. To be professionally successful, an artist has to follow certain rules as to where to exhibit—i. e., only at the prestigious galleries that cater to the rich.

To justify ignoring most artists' work, the art world uses the myth that only a tiny handful of humanity have been given "talent" and the rest supposedly lack any esthetic sense. Thus, those few artists who do succeed do so because of their "natural" superiority.

As a teacher, I know from my experience that everyone has some real esthetic sense and that it is a crime that this society doesn't try to develop that potential in everyone.

One thing that is necessary to





## History of union women—I

become esthetically aware is to be surrounded by art in one's everyday life—in school, at work, etc. But in our class society, art becomes a luxury product for the rich, and most really good art is locked up in the Rockefeller estate or in the museums of large cities, which are always in the rich neighborhoods.

And in a very interesting fashion, the ruling class will point to their patronage of the arts as proof of their natural superiority and refined judgment. So even today—just as in the seventeenth century when Velázquez painted portrait after portrait of the Spanish royal family—art serves as a cloak of respectability for the ruling class and a prop for the status quo.

Yes, I agree that neither humanity nor the artist will really prosper until the construction of a socialist society. And I further believe that with the coming of socialism, the distinction between artist and non-artist will fade, just as in some technologically primitive classless societies all members of the society contributed to the making of art.

I feel that it is important for *The Militant* to take the time to occasionally talk about the problems of artists. I think most young people who are attracted to becoming artists do so in an unconscious belief that artists somehow escape the alienation and frustration of the capitalist world. When these illusions are broken, they will be ready to listen to socialist ideas.

Thank you for a good, thought-provoking article. But then that's just what I've come to expect from as honest and truthful a paper as *The Militant*.  
P. K.  
Baltimore, Md.

The history of women in U.S. trade unions is a long and rich one. With the birth of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), it's worth looking at that history to place CLUW in proper perspective.

CLUW is not the first organization of its kind. Rather, it is an organization with the potential to continue a fight begun more than 100 years ago by heroic, militant women whose struggle should not be forgotten.

The predecessor of CLUW was the National Women's Trade Union League, founded in 1903. It was built on the same basic concepts as CLUW: that women belonging to various unions should come together to discuss the problems common to them as women workers, aid one another and engage in united activity, and present to their union brothers the collective expression of their needs.

The National Women's Trade Union League did not fall out of the sky. It too had individuals, organizations, and unions that paved the way for it.

In the years 1860–1880 there were women's unions of various sorts represented in the National Labor Union. The women shoemakers even had their own national union—the Daughters of St. Crispin.

The story of these and other women unionists' strikes, victories, and defeats is told in a remarkable book called *The Trade Union Woman*, written by Alice Henry and published in 1917.

Some of the women's unions were highly successful. The Collar Laundry Workers of Troy, N.Y., for instance, succeeded in a few years in raising their wages from \$2 or \$3 a week to \$8 or \$14 a week. Their union was so prosperous by the standards of the day that they were able to give \$1,000 from their treasury to striking iron-molders of Troy, and later gave \$500 to help striking bricklayers in New York. Kate Mullaney, leader of the Collar Laundry Workers, was so highly respected that in 1868 she was made national organizer of women for the National Labor Union.

The Parasol and Umbrella Makers' Union had a

large and active association in New York. Largely through a quirk of history, they played a special role. In 1874 an Englishwoman, Emma Patterson, visited this country. She was appalled at the deplorable conditions of women workers around the world and while in New York came into contact with the umbrella-makers. Impressed by their activity and inspired by their example, Patterson returned to England to launch the British Women's Trade Union League. Thirty years later the British league was copied in the United States as the National Women's Trade Union League.

The Knights of Labor was the first large national organization to admit women on terms of equality with men. By 1886, when the Knights of Labor was most influential, it is estimated that about 50,000 of its members were women. The 50,000 included women from many trades, but shoe-workers predominated, many of whom had been trained in trade unionism through the Daughters of St. Crispin.

At its convention in 1886, the Knights of Labor appointed a special committee of 16 women to report to the convention. These women decided that their task was to form "a permanent organization, the object of which will be to investigate the abuses to which our sex is subjected by unscrupulous employers, [and] to agitate the principle which our order teaches of equal pay for equal work and abolition of child labor." The report of the women was adopted and the Women's Department of the Knights of Labor was created.

During the years that the Knights of Labor was active, women members were on all bodies and at all conventions, and between 1881 and 1886 there were at least 190 locals composed entirely of women.

The Women's National Labor League and the Working Women's Society of New York also helped pave the way. But it was not until 1903, when the National Women's Trade Union League was formed, that women workers developed a solid national organization.

That organization will be the subject of next week's column.

## National Picket Line

### Frank Lovell



## Typical, and not-so-typical

Statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau and the Department of Labor do not help the underpaid workers of this country meet rent hikes or buy food. But the figures on wages and prices do give some idea of how much and how fast the standard of living of all workers, especially the lowest-paid, is being driven down.

A city family of four, according to the Labor Department, needed a yearly income of \$12,626 in the fall of 1973 for a "moderate" standard of living. Food was the most expensive single item at \$3,183 a year. Housing was next, \$2,908. Taxes ran a close third, \$2,254.

If only one person in the family worked, the hourly pay required to meet this budget would be \$6.07 for a 40-hour week, 52 weeks a year. But what worker earns \$6.07 an hour? Certainly not factory workers. Last fall the average factory worker earned only \$4.21 an hour for an annual income of \$8,762, again according to the Labor Department. That left a \$3,864 gap between what the average worker made and what was needed for a "moderate" standard of living.

*The gap is widening.* If increases in prices and wages up to May 1974 are taken into account, average wages are now \$4,405 short of living needs.

Now a Census Bureau survey has been released claiming that in 1973 the "typical American family" had an income of \$12,051. This is the median income, the Census Bureau says, meaning that half of all families are above it and half below.

This is strangely far above the average wage. The Census Bureau scrupulously counts high-paid executives and those who live off the wealth produced by the workers, while, it is well known, the Bureau often overlooks many of the lowest-paid, especially Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. Even so, this figure indicates that in a vast number of

families, more than one person must hold down a job.

Even if the Census Bureau's figure for the "typical family" is taken at face value, it is \$575 below what was computed to be a "moderate" income. In other words, *more than half of all families* have a less-than-moderate standard of living.

The Census Bureau survey provides damning evidence of racist and sexist discrimination in this society. The typical Black family had an income of \$7,270, only 58 percent of the income of the typical white family. The gap widened by one full percentage point last year.

The typical full-time woman worker earned only 57 percent as much as her male counterpart. This gap, too, is widening and is now three percentage points greater than in 1971.

The survey found that the bottom 11 percent of the total population, or 23 million people, live below the official poverty line of \$4,540. This includes 31 percent of the Black population! Even the Census Bureau admitted that because of the extraordinary increase in food prices, the number of people living in poverty is actually greater than this.

These statistics are gathered by the government for economic planners, poverty agencies, housing authorities, and others who look after the interests of the wealthy. The term "typical" ordinarily implies a characteristic of the vast majority, but these statisticians give it their own twist. There are few "typical" \$12,051-income families, only those above and below that figure. Most of the bottom half are far down, and many (23 million men, women, and children) are out.

The facts, minus the misleading terminology, provide useful ammunition for working-class organizations, like the unions, that must now defend the poor, who are being driven to fight for survival.

### From the horse's mouth

What is the source for *The Militant's* information in the July 12 article on food prices that seven million Americans have fallen below the official poverty level in the last six months?  
E. A.  
Dallas, Tex.

*In reply*—John Dillin reports this in the June 20 *Christian Science Monitor*. He says it is in the conclusion of the report issued by the Senate's Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

### Fighting inflation

Your coverage of the economy this year has been the very best. Your articles have been clear, precise, and short (no word inflation!). Of course, you have always done a good job but this year is even better.

It is also good that you manage to keep the price of *The Militant* down to a quarter.  
Joseph Barnes  
Gilbertsville, N. Y.

**The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.**



**Ode to joy**— Representative John Hunt of New Jersey paid tribute to the FBI Identification Division, now celebrating its Golden Anniversary. The division now has nearly 160 million fingerprints on file. Said Hunt: "In addition to its effectiveness in criminal identification, the fingerprint has become increasingly helpful through its humanitarian uses. It reunites joyful families with loved ones who have been long missing. . . ."

**Nixonese?**—"Of these (deleted) warheads, (deleted) were in (deleted). In addition, there were (deleted) and (deleted) warheads of various types committed to NATO on some (deleted)



ships. Thus the total number of warheads in NATO Europe (deleted) was (deleted) not including the approximately (deleted) afloat (deleted)." — Edited version of a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff report.

**One reason they don't go very far**— Those ever more worthless dollar bills are printed on scab paper. The company that supplies the government has fought off at least four unionizing drives.

**Dr. Hippocrates they call him**— Aman bled to death a half block from a Seattle hospital whose doctors and nurses

were not permitted to go to his aid. A hospital administrator explained, "We do not go outside the confines of our building to solicit patients." Once you start taking care of people outside, he inquired, "where does it stop?"

**Vertical organization**— Four major manufacturers were indicted for conspiring to fix the price of toilet seats. The four enjoy more than 75 percent of the sales of wooden toilet seats in the nation. One of those indicted was the Beatrice Food Company of Chicago, which struck us as representing a highly rationalized form of expansion.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

### Miguel Pendás



## Facts show power of Raza workers

LOS ANGELES— The May 1974 issue of the *American Federationist*, a publication of the AFL-CIO, offers a statistical sketch of Latino workers. It confirms that *la raza* is a significant part of the U.S. population, concentrated in urban ghettos, and suffering severe discrimination in all areas of life.

According to the 1970 census, Chicanos, *puerto-riqueños*, Cubans, and other Latinos number more than nine million. More than 100,000 of us live in each of 11 states: New York, Texas, California, Florida, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

We are an urban people. Eighty-four percent of us live in or around major cities. Except for New York City, the article points out, most barrios tend not to be in the very core of the city, but rather are poor, working-class suburbs.

Youth make up a far greater part of *la raza* than of the population as a whole. If we subtract Cubans, who tend to be older, from the statistics, half of all Latinos are 20 years of age or younger.

Figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics

show that there were 3.6 million Latino workers in the first quarter of 1974. According to the government, 8.4 percent were unemployed. This is 60 percent higher than the rate for Anglos in the same period.

About half of all non-Latino workers can expect to find white-collar jobs. But government figures show that only one-third of Latinos can expect the same. The majority of *la raza* are forced to perform the hardest, heaviest labor in industry, and menial service jobs.

One reason for this is that Latinos do not have equal educational opportunities with Anglos. As of 1972, one of every five Latinos did not even have five years of education, the supposed literacy level. The median educational level for *la raza* was only 9.7 years as compared with 12.2 years for Anglos.

Statistics also show that Latino families are larger than Anglo ones, and that more family members are forced to work to pay the bills. Fifty percent more Latino teenagers have to work, thus sacrificing high school and college. More and more Latina women are being forced to find jobs to make ends meet.

But even with more family members working, the average Latino family makes only \$8,100 a year—three-quarters of the median national income. Nearly a quarter of all Latino families have an income that falls below the government poverty level—about twice the rate of the nation as a whole.

And revealing as they are, these government figures are inadequate. They are dishonestly compiled with an intention of understating the numerical strength of our people, and of covering up the harsh facts surrounding our existence. The AFL-CIO report, for example, questions the overall population figure, saying that Latino community sources estimate the real figure to be as much as 50 percent higher.

Even so, some conclusions stand out clearly. We are a powerful people both in sheer numbers and also by virtue of our position as producers of wealth in this society. The capitalist system depends to a large extent on our misery for its superprofits and for its existence. When this "sleeping giant," as *la raza* has been called, really wakes up, that bloodsucking system will be shaken at its very roots.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Baxter Smith



## Gulf Oil's stake in Angola

**Gulf out of Angola!**— For Angola to win independence may take the longest struggle of any of Portugal's African colonies. One of the reasons is foreign capitalists' determination to maintain their ownership of Angola's vast riches of gold, diamonds, iron—and oil. And when you talk about oil in Angola, you're talking about Gulf.

Gulf Oil, the eleventh largest U.S. corporation, has a \$200-million investment in Angola. So when Gulf talks, Angola—and Portugal—listen.

For safeguarding Gulf's stake in Angola, the Portuguese dictatorship got \$91-million from Gulf in 1973, a hefty increase from the estimated \$33-million to \$50-million it got in 1972.

Gulf's investments in Angola represent 75 percent of all U.S. investment in the Portuguese colonies, according to figures compiled by the Gulf Boycott Coalition, based in Dayton, Ohio. The money Gulf pays to the Portuguese government is vital to Portugal's ability to maintain its occupation and oppression of Angola.

Since the April coup in Portugal, the government of General Spínola has made it clear that it is determined to establish some neocolonial setup and not grant independence to the colonies. There could be no better time to step up demands for the

U.S. government and U.S. corporations like Gulf to stop all support for Portugal's African wars.

**Black law students**— A recent report from the Carnegie Corporation of New York provides cold facts to buttress the demand for a preferential admissions policy to give Blacks access to institutions of higher learning.

The findings are especially important in light of challenges to admissions quotas, such as the Marco DeFunis case. DeFunis, who is white, filed suit claiming that Black students whose grades were not as high as his were admitted to the University of Washington law school ahead of him. The case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, but the court didn't rule on the substantive issue.

The Carnegie report shows that in 1968 there were only 22 Black first-year students in 17 predominantly white law schools in the South. By 1973 the number had grown to 171, but this figure was still only 3 percent of the total enrollment in the 17 law schools.

The results can be seen in Mississippi, where Blacks are often victimized by the racist court system. There are only 49 Black lawyers in the state, or one for every 16,000 Black residents,

while the ratio of white lawyers to white residents is one to 450.

The institutionalized discrimination revealed by these figures points to the need for special measures to give Blacks genuine equal opportunity in education.

**Of pushers and politicians**— As was to be expected, New York State's "stringent new antidrug laws have not measurably slowed the over-all flow of drugs or driven major narcotics dealers out of business," observes the June 25 *New York Times*. Instead the laws have "meant long sentences for the addicts and small-scale pushers at the bottom of the drug ladder."

Last September the New York state legislature adopted the nation's harshest drug laws, including a mandatory life sentence for certain drug felonies.

Governor Malcolm Wilson still claims that the laws will "drive pushers for profit out of business." Wilson knows better, of course. We live under the capitalist system, and as long as there is a profit to be made, as long as this system drives people to drugs as a way out, the flow of deadly drugs into New York and the Black community—where there are more addicts than anywhere else—will not be halted.

## Discuss women's oppression

# 800 at Black women's parley in Newark

By PATRICIA WRIGHT

NEWARK, N.J. — An African Women's Conference, called by the Congress of African People (CAP), drew 800 Blacks from around the country to this predominantly Black city the weekend of July 5-7.

Held on the Rutgers University campus, the conference was open to women and men. About two-thirds of those in attendance were women.

"The Conference has been called as an important step toward heightening the political awareness and educational development of Afrikan Women in order that we may more effectively strive for the unification of all Afrikan People," an information sheet on the conference said.

The conference was also designed to produce "principled dialogue around the issues of Nationalism, Pan-Afrikanism, and Socialism," and to "create a National Organization of Afrikan Women."

The conference was largely taken up by workshop discussions. Topics included: education; communications; social organization; health, welfare, and employment; institutional development; and politics.

The largest workshop, which drew 200 people, was the politics workshop. Most of the discussion centered on questions such as: Are Black people exploited as a class, a race, or both? Is Marxism relevant to Black people? Is our struggle a struggle for land or for capital?

Panelists were invited and were asked to present position papers on women's oppression, around which discussion would take place.

The panelists included: Bibi Amina Baraka, CAP; Joyce Johnson, Youth Organization for Black Unity; Maxine Williams, Socialist Workers Party; Huguette DeJean, Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Haitian Refugees; Brenda Paris, African Liberation Support Committee; Fulani Obafemi, Republic of New Africa; Evelyn Moore, All Afri-



Participants discuss nature of Black oppression at workshop on politics

Militant/Baxter Smith

can People's Revolutionary Party; and Anabela Katalayo, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Bibi Baraka traced the origins of the oppression of women and said that Black women are triply oppressed—as workers, as women, and as Blacks.

Paris and Johnson held basically the same position as Baraka, but Johnson added that Black women must reject the "bourgeois women's liberation movement."

Moore said that the oppression of Black women goes back to Africa and the Arab slave trade. She said that Black women are at the bottom of the economic barrel and that Blacks must struggle for the liberation of Africa. She said that Black women must reject "female chauvinism."

DeJean told of the oppressive conditions in Haiti, and how her committee has been fighting for asylum for Haitian refugees in the United States.

Obafemi said that the most important question for Blacks was getting power through the acquisition of land, and planning new communities.

Katalayo answered questions about

the struggle of women in Angolan society.

Williams, speaking for the SWP, agreed with those who said that Black women are triply oppressed. "In every economic aspect Black women remain at the bottom of the economic scale. We have the highest rate of unemployment, receive the lowest pay, and have easy access to some of the most demeaning and degrading jobs. The oppression of Black women is a profitable enterprise for the ruling powers in this country," she said.

Williams pointed out that the Democratic and Republican parties are the parties of these ruling powers and are the enemies of Blacks. She traced their treacherous history and called for the formation of an independent Black party to struggle against them in the streets and at the ballot box.

She also said that many of the issues raised by the women's liberation movement, such as paid maternity leave, the right to abortion with no forced sterilization, equal pay for equal work, and others, are most meaningful to Black women.

"The pockets of those who own the means of production swell with mil-

lions of dollars when household workers are not covered by the minimum wage law," she said. "Their pockets swell with millions of dollars as we are denied maternity leave with full pay, or paid less for doing the same work as a male supposedly because we are only working for 'pin money.' The struggle against all these forms of oppression is a struggle against capitalism. Black women represent a great deal of potential political power."

A list of goals and objectives that the proposed Black women's organization would work for and support was drawn up by the workshop.

Some of these objectives included a fight against forced sterilization, the struggle for 24-hour community-controlled day-care centers, equal pay for equal work, and for the minimum wage law to cover household and migrant workers.

A general session followed the workshops and heard speakers from the Republic of Somalia; Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU); and Katalayo from UNITA. A woman on furlough from Clinton state prison also spoke, as well as Imamu Baraka, chairman of CAP.

Baraka stated that the Black struggle is not confined to skin color, but is against class exploitation as well.

Baraka also said that Black women need liberation but it must be in the context of the overall Black struggle. He added that Black men oppress Black women and that Black men must reject male chauvinism. Black men and women must struggle together, he concluded, stressing what he believed to be the importance of the Black family.

The conference was extremely significant because it reaffirmed the fact, as most participants agreed, that Black women do need to organize against their oppression. A future meeting is planned to concretize the structure and plans for the national Black women's organization.

# Strikes tie up construction throughout California

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—A wave of strikes has tied up \$2-billion worth of construction in California.

Building-trades workers are seeking to resist the contractors' drive to trade inadequate wage increases for higher productivity, which often means loss of jobs.

In many of the strikes the unions are trying to make up for wages cut since 1971 by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), the now defunct federal wage-control board for the industry.

But instead of presenting a solid front against the contractors' offensive, the different craft unions are striking or settling on different terms with different contractors in different parts of the state. Picketing has been limited, with no effort to achieve a united shutdown with the power to win.

Here are highlights of strikes and settlements as of July 15:

- In Northern California, 15,000 carpenters remain on strike against the Associated General Contractors (AGC). Another 30,000 carpenters are working under terms of a new contract with the Homebuilders Association, approved by a vote of carpenters June 25.

The carpenters' pact with the HomeBuilders includes an increase of \$1.75 an hour in wages and fringe benefits over one year, but it gives up any

improvement in working conditions for three years.

The union leadership has failed to organize carpenters to picket all AGC jobs, to ask authority to assess working carpenters to pay strike benefits, or even to inform members of the status of negotiations with AGC.

- Northern California laborers joined the carpenters by striking AGC projects June 26. The contractors in turn declared a lockout of laborers, as they had done with the carpenters.

But the next day negotiators for 11,000 members of Operating Engineers Local 3 in Northern California and northern Nevada came to terms with the AGC. The engineers, who continued to work after their contract expired June 15, got 20 cents an hour retroactive to May 1 in wages cut earlier by the CISC. Their new three-year contract specifies a 12 percent increase the first year and at least \$1 an hour in each of the next two years, perhaps more depending on the rate of inflation.

The agreement with the operating engineers served as a model for a settlement with the laborers, reached on July 3.

- Negotiators for 3,500 painters in the northern Bay Area and the southern San Francisco peninsula came to terms with the painting contractors a few days before their contract expired July 1. Restrictions on the use of certain tools were relaxed in the



Carpenters and supporters picketing federal building last December

Militant/Steve Chainey

Northern Bay contract and practically eliminated in the peninsula contract, which was negotiated separately for the first time. This will mean fewer jobs for painters. The first-year wage increase is a modest \$1 an hour.

Painters in the East Bay struck July 1 in an effort to win a wage increase without trading away jobs.

- Plumbers in Oakland and elsewhere in the eastern Bay Area struck July 1 demanding wage increases similar to those won by plumbers in San Mateo and San Francisco.

- Sixty thousand building-trades workers were idled when carpenters, laborers, and cement masons struck

the AGC in Los Angeles and 10 other Southern California counties July 1. They are demanding wage increases to make up for cuts by the CISC and to catch up with wages in Northern California.

- San Diego County laborers, who had struck along with carpenters and cement masons June 17, came to terms with the AGC July 6. A few days later 900 San Diego County cement masons voted down a similar pact by a 2-to-1 margin. Seven thousand San Diego County carpenters continue to stay away from AGC jobs. As in the north, little picketing is being organized by the union leadership.



# What prospects for revolutionary

Second of a series  
By TONY THOMAS

Developments such as the radicalization of the 1960s, the rise of the antiwar movement, Watergate, rising inflation, and the energy crisis, have brought about changes in the attitudes and willingness to struggle of American workers.

This has been reflected in actions like last year's meat boycott and the more recent truckers' strike, as well as in the growing unrest among women workers and working-class youth.

These changes in the American working class have had an impact on many in the Black liberation movement and have been partly responsible for bringing about a new interest among Blacks in Marxist ideas and the class struggle.

However, many Blacks who now are beginning to see the need for socialist revolution still have questions about whether the working class is capable of leading such a revolution. They question whether white American workers, many of whom continue to hold racist attitudes and to have privileges relative to Blacks, will be capable of revolutionary action.

Does the American working class have the potential for making a socialist revolution? Can white workers be mobilized in a united fight with Black workers to take the power away from the capitalists?

These are crucial questions. The working class is the largest social force in this country. It is the only force that has the power—through its numbers and its role in production—to take on and defeat the capitalist rulers.

Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, students, and women, all who have carried out radical struggles, cannot overturn capitalism on their own. Only the decisive numbers of the working class as a whole can do this.

## Wage slavery

Marxists approach the question of whether or not the white workers will play a revolutionary role, not simply on the basis of their attitudes at any particular time, but by looking at the objective position of these workers in capitalist society.

The position of American workers is, most basically, one of wage slaves, forced to sell their labor power to live and forced to produce for the profits of the capitalist.

American capitalism is based not only on the exploitation of nonwhites, but on the exploitation of all wage labor. Whatever the degree of wage concessions and privileges white workers have relative to Black workers at any particular time, this basic condition of exploitation remains, and must be the basis of any revolutionary strategy.

It is also necessary to look at the situation of American workers in the context of what is happening to the capitalists. As we have mentioned, one of the strongest bases for the idea that white workers will not be capable of revolutionary action flows from the belief that American capitalism is and will always be sufficiently strong to keep the working class at least relatively satisfied. This view is static and superficial.

It is true that the economic situation of most American workers improved in the decades following World War II. But the very factors that allowed American imperialism to provide relatively more prosperity for American workers in that period also contained the seeds for the radicalization of the working class.



Truckers' strike against phony fuel shortage was example of new anger and militancy among workers

In rising to the position of the strongest imperialist power, U.S. capitalism became more affected by, and vulnerable to, the worldwide struggles against imperialism and capitalism. This was shown in the tremendous impact of the Vietnam war on this country.

Furthermore, the main source of the U.S. post-war prosperity—capitalist investment in rebuilding the war-torn economies of Europe and Japan, which preceded the great boom of the 1950s and 1960s—has come to an end. The rise of European and Japanese capitalism has turned into a threat to U.S. imperialism as they have become serious economic competitors.

This growing competition among the imperialist powers has brought attacks on the workers' standard of living in Western Europe, Japan, and the United States, through inflation, unemployment, speed-up, and direct governmental attacks on the workers' rights to organize.

One of the most significant examples of working-class response to this was the 1968 massive general strike in France. The entire working class, supported by students, farmers, and others, went out on strike, seizing control of factories, universities, and other facilities in many areas. Only the sell-out treachery of the Communist Party leadership, who controlled the union movement, prevented that struggle from going forward to a socialist revolution.

Since that time we have seen many important working-class struggles in the imperialist countries. Workers in Britain, Italy, Japan, Portugal, and other countries have all mounted massive actions against capitalist attacks on their standard of living and working conditions.

## New Economic Policy

This same sharpening interimperialist competition has led the American capitalists to make attacks on U.S. workers' standard of living in order

to gain advantages on the world market. These attacks were signaled by Nixon's Aug. 15, 1971, announcement of his "New Economic Policy." Controls were placed on wages and the force of the federal government was brought behind the 5.5 percent limit on wage increases.

The capitalists have used other methods to squeeze down the standard of living of the American workers. While wages were held down, prices skyrocketed. Since 1971 the income of American workers has been falling. In 1972 spendable average weekly earnings were \$96.40, while in February 1974 they were \$91.72.

The meat shortage, the energy crisis, and other measures have been employed to cut back consumption by the workers. These sudden shortages and dislocations of the economy have given the masses of Americans an insight into the irrationality and weakness of the capitalist system.

Rather than indicating a long-term ability to meet the economic needs of the workers, the current evolution of American capitalism shows the system is becoming less and less capable of doing so.

In the two months after the lifting of wage controls on April 30, the number of strikes leaped to the highest level since the Korean war—from 250 to 300 per month, to more than 500 a month in May and June.

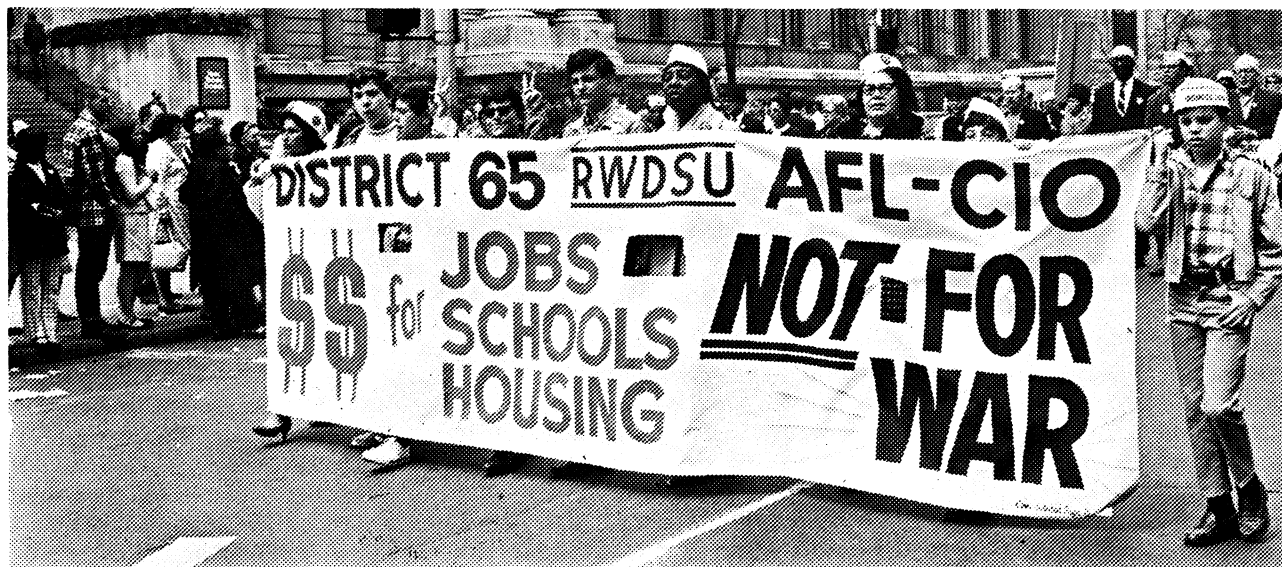
The rapid spread of the meat boycott a year ago and the militant truckers strike last winter show that when working people do move, it can be with great explosiveness and determination.

The workers have been affected not only by the economic squeeze, but also by the process of radicalization that began in the 1960s. The spread of nationalist sentiment in the Black and other oppressed communities, the demand of women for equality, the Watergate revelations, and the changing views among young workers toward patriotism, government institutions, and big business—all these have combined to make today's workers much different from the working class of the 1950s.

Furthermore, the privileges and standard of living that white workers have relative to Black workers are two-sided. On the one hand, they have made white workers less ready to struggle. But on the other hand, they have raised the expectations of working people, who will be ready to fight against reductions in the gains they have won.

The process of radicalization that began in the 1960s, and the sharpening problems of U.S. capitalism, point in the direction of a coming struggle by American workers against their exploiters. These developments show that American workers are not immune to the processes that have led to the mass upsurges of workers in the other imperialist countries. The struggles by U.S. workers in the 1930s and 1940s showed the power and militancy of the American labor movement.

This perspective confirms the Marxist position that the U.S. working class can play a revolution-



The struggle of the Vietnamese had major impact on U.S. society and on unions

Militant/Flax Hermes

# workers struggles?

ary role in toppling capitalism if a revolutionary leadership exists.

Marxists recognize that the revolution in this country will have a combined character. Not only will it include the struggle of workers against capitalism, but it will also include, as a decisive part, the struggle of Blacks and other oppressed peoples for national liberation. Neither struggle can be successful without the other and neither struggle can triumph without a socialist revolution.

While the workers struggle and the national liberation struggles will have their own independent dynamics and tempos at times, they are very much interconnected and mutually affect each other.

The process of radicalization of the working class is affected by, and tied to, the national liberation struggle of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. The more than 30 million Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans in this country are overwhelmingly from the working class.

In fact, they are a key sector of the class, concentrated in urban industry. Because of national oppression they are the hardest hit by inflation, unemployment, and other capitalist attacks on the working class, and they are the most ready to fight back.

The growth of militant nationalist consciousness by Afro-Americans has helped move Blacks ahead of other workers in recognition of the oppression they face. This consciousness reflects the understanding that capitalist society does not serve the interests of Black people and that Afro-Americans must take their own destiny into their hands. This is exactly what the working class as a whole must do if it is to end the alienation, robbery, and enslavement that capitalism represents.

## Colonial struggles

Nationalist struggles by Black people can help to radicalize the working class as a whole. This radicalizing impact of Blacks on white workers is paralleled by a similar impact of the struggles of colonized peoples throughout the world on the advanced capitalist countries.

For example, in Portugal today we can see how the struggle for independence in Africa has had a tremendous impact inside Portugal, triggering a shift in strategy by the Portuguese capitalists toward allowing limited democratic rights. When the Salazarist dictatorship was lifted, the masses of Portuguese workers spontaneously rose up, rejoicing in the promises to end the colonial wars, striking for higher wages, and in some cases taking actions, such as factory occupations, that put into question the need for the parasitic bosses.

The upsurge of the Portuguese workers illustrates the underlying desire for freedom from exploitation and for control of the product of their labor that exists among all workers and can burst forth when the right conditions arise.

In this country white workers have been affected not only by the Black struggle, but by the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese. The tenacity of the Vietnamese people convinced the majority of American workers that Washington was not waging war for freedom and self-determination and that American workers drafted to fight in Vietnam were not fighting for their own interests.

The objective position of the American workers—that is, their having to bear the cost of the war in lives, war spending, and inflation—cut across their prejudices of patriotism, anticommunism, and racism against nonwhite peoples. A powerful anti-war movement grew up, with some white GIs even refusing to fight or bomb the Vietnamese.

Struggles by Blacks to control their own communities, against police repression, against discrimination on the job and in the armed forces similarly have a long-term effect on other workers.

Black nationalist consciousness and actions are

not in contradiction to uniting the workers in struggle against the capitalist oppressors, but are an integral part of that struggle and push forward the entire class struggle.

To lead the combined revolution, it is necessary for Black revolutionaries to develop a Marxist outlook—that is, a revolutionary working-class outlook. To lead the coming American revolution the international struggle for socialism, the overall struggle against capitalism in this country, as well as the dynamics of the Black struggle in this country.

The scientific approach of Marxism, which is the product of the international experience of working-class revolutionists down through history, is necessary to arm revolutionists to fight against the power of U.S. imperialism.

A Marxist outlook is not contradictory to the aims of revolutionary-minded Afro-American nationalists. Instead, it places the struggle for Black



Black auto workers in Detroit last year spearheaded struggle against racism and bad working conditions.

power and liberation within the context of the larger struggle for socialist revolution and workers power on an international basis.

## Fight racism

The combined struggle of Afro-Americans and the working class cannot develop successfully unless revolutionaries carry out a ruthless struggle against racism, including any of its manifestations in the working class.

The only possible basis for unity between Black and white workers is support to the struggle for Black liberation. Any other basis plays into the hands of the bosses, who want to use continued oppression of Afro-Americans to line their pockets and divide the workers.

The struggle to regenerate the working-class movement in this country must include a fight to make the union movement take up the special national demands of Afro-Americans and other oppressed peoples. Demands such as preferential hiring, the right of oppressed nationalities to control their own communities, the necessity for preferential programs to provide decent schools, housing, and cultural institutions for Afro-Americans must be emblazoned on the banners of the labor movement in this country if it is to unite Black and white workers in an effective stand against the capitalist class.

As Lenin put it, the way to relate the national and class aspects of the American revolution is not to counterpose the national struggle to the class struggle, but to combine both struggles for an end to national oppression and economic exploitation.

Such a combined assault by the working class and the oppressed peoples of this country can take power out of the hands of the capitalists and gain national liberation of the oppressed peoples.

One of the questions that has arisen as many Black radicals are coming to grips with this process is: What type of revolutionary organization will be needed to accomplish this task? This question will be taken up in our next article.

# 250 women trade unionists meet in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—"Working women have a long way to go," Eleanor Glenn of the Service Employees International Union and West Coast vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) told 250 union women. The women met July 13 here to form a local chapter of CLUW.

"We have actually been going backwards in wages," Glenn said, "with 46 percent of working women paid little over the poverty level and only four million of a work force of 30 million in unions. In California we are actually below the national average in wages, getting only 50 percent of the pay of men."

"Unions have failed to do the job of organizing the unorganized," Glenn continued, "and CLUW must see that this gets done. We also are going to insist on participating in every level of the union, including policy-making bodies and the leaderships."

Thirty-five labor unions were represented at the nondelegated organizing meeting, which packed the Carpenters' District Council Hall. Both union officials and rank-and-filers were present. Many joined the national CLUW organization at this first local meeting.

Ruth Miller, national representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and state co-convenor of CLUW, told the organizing meeting, "What CLUW has undertaken is an enormous job, but we will be successful because the need is so great."

Miller summarized the workshops in which the unionists had discussed objectives. She said that CLUW must confine itself to union women until a convention might decide otherwise at a future time, and that unionizing the unorganized is a primary task. Child care and parental needs were also of enormous interest in the workshops, she reported.

Virginia Mulrooney of the American Federation of Teachers denounced a June 17 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court saying that California need not give disability pay for normal pregnancies.

"The employers say that pregnancies are not profitable for them," she said, "and that pregnancy is a 'self-induced condition.'" Women in the hall responded with whoops of laughter.

United Farm Workers representative Vivian Drake was given a standing ovation as she rose to describe the current status of the long, heroic struggle of field-worker families.

The 16-month strike against the A. G. Sloane Company was explained by Irma Casillas from Local 621 of the United Rubber Workers. She told how the women in the union enlisted the help of San Fernando Valley barrios, students, and young workers in the strike and then got husbands and brothers to give more active support. The strike against Sloane continues.

Unions with the largest representation included the Communications Workers of America, the Service Employees International Union, the American Federation of Teachers, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. There were also groups from the United Auto Workers, the Teamsters, Retail Clerks, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

A reporter on the local television news that evening commented, "This afternoon's meeting showed that women are on the march in all the institutions in the country. Remember the name Coalition of Labor Union Women—you will hear more from it."



Recent Amalgamated Clothing Workers strike. Forty-six percent of working women are paid barely over poverty level.

For further reading:

## Black Liberation and Socialism

Edited by Tony Thomas, paper \$2.45

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By CAROLINE LUND

To any radical-minded person who has been reading the newspaper accounts of recent events in Portugal, the role played by the Portuguese Communist Party must raise a great many questions.

Why is a party that claims to be communist *opposing* and *finking* on workers' strikes? Why does this party refuse to criticize the Spínola regime's continued occupation and domination of Portugal's African colonies? Why

power to the liberation forces.

This is what the CP should be demanding. It should be organizing massive demonstrations around these demands in Portugal, where the overwhelming majority of people favor such a course.

Instead, the CP has joined, and given its seal of approval to, a government that is still occupying African lands, a government whose army and secret police are still terrorizing and torturing African peoples, a government that is still raking in gold from the sale of Black contract labor to slave in the South African gold mines.

yelling, "Fascists, go back to work, you are sabotaging democracy."

To try to preserve at least a shred of credibility, Soares now concedes that "not all ultra-'left'-ist individuals are conscious agents of fascism. . . ." What a concession! This strikebreaker is willing to admit that tens of thousands of militant strikers aren't all "conscious agents of fascism."

According to Soares, the 30,000 postal workers, the Lisbon transit workers, the agricultural laborers, and others who have defied the CP's antistrike orders and waged militant fights for decent wages are only un-

the "Portuguese reality," and the necessity of maintaining the "anti-fascist front."

What the CP means by its code words of "anti-fascist unity," "unity of the people with the armed forces," and "establishing democracy," is that the workers should *subordinate* their struggle to the *limits* imposed by the "democratic" wing of the capitalist class.

### What's best for capitalism

Thus the criterion for the CP's policies becomes what is best for the capitalist economy, not how to fight for the workers' needs. The CP in effect tells the workers, "Don't strike; you'll frighten the 'democratic' capitalists." And it tells the Portuguese people, "Don't demonstrate against the colonial wars; you'll embarrass the 'democratic' imperialists."

Another example of the CP's policy of "what's best for capitalism" is their position on the question of the immigrant workers. Many Portuguese workers, inspired by the upsurge following the April 25 coup, have been returning to Portugal from France, Germany, and other European countries, looking forward to rejoining their families and fighting for a better life. The CP has been calling on them *not to come home*, but to stay where they are and continue sending home their wages.

If they were to return, the Portuguese capitalists warn, it would mean more unemployment in Portugal as well as the loss of foreign exchange.

The CP's stand on the Portuguese immigrant workers illustrates well how the Stalinists care nothing for the revolutionary impulse and inspiration that has swept through the Portuguese working class since the coup. It is precisely this new confidence of the workers in their own power and in their rights that until now has held back the Portuguese rulers from re-imposing still more of the old dictatorial methods of rule. The CP, however, attempts to demoralize the workers and stifle or break their combativity in the name of "unity in the struggle against fascism."

A revolutionary leadership would encourage all the immigrant workers to return and add their revolutionary energy to strengthen the power of the working class and its allies among the soldiers and the rural poor. It would build solidarity with all strikes. If the capitalists cried "anarchy," a revolutionary party would say, "OK, let the workers control production and organize it democratically." If unemployment rose, it would fight for a shortening of the workweek with no drop in pay, to create jobs for everybody.

If the CP had any revolutionary spirit left, it would break from the Spínola government, which is committed to upholding capitalism. It would mobilize and encourage the fighting spirit of the workers and their allies to win every possible gain at the expense of the capitalist class, pressing toward the goal of taking power out of their hands and establishing a government of the CP, the Socialist Party, and other workers parties.

# Daily World 'explains' CP strikebreaking in Portugal

is this party participating in a coalition government that is defending capitalist property relations and cracking down on the democratic rights of the Portuguese people?

The Communist Party in the United States is obviously having trouble explaining these rotten policies of its sister party in Portugal. It hasn't even tried to reply to the many articles critical of the CP line on Portugal that have appeared in *The Militant* and some other papers.

The degree to which the CP feels defensive about Portugal can be seen from an article on Portugal in the July 6 issue of its newspaper, the *Daily World*.

At the beginning of July the *Daily World* finally got its correspondent over to Lisbon. This reporter, Arthur Simson, sat down for a long interview with Pedro Soares, a member of the central committee of the Portuguese Communist Party.

Simson asked Soares for the answers to the questions that the American Stalinists have apparently been unable to satisfactorily answer—questions put by some of their own rank and file, by supporters of the CP's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, and by many Black supporters of the African revolution.

The question uppermost on Simson's mind was "the position of the PCP on the vital question of the liberation of Portugal's African empire."

In a bald-faced lie, Soares answered that the CP's position is for "the right of the colonial people to independence" and for "negotiations leading to independence." He simply ignores the fact that the Spínola regime, backed by the CP, has *refused* to grant independence and keeps its troops as an occupation force in the colonies.

Soares added, approvingly, that "the liberation forces have always stressed that they will respect the interests of the whites in Africa—to the extent that this does not negate the aim of independence."

Perhaps this position—dishonestly put into the mouths of the liberation forces—indicates what the CP thinks needs to be "negotiated" between Lisbon and the colonies. Which "interests" of the white colonialists do the CP think have to be "respected"? The white-owned businesses and plantations? The imperialist-controlled monopolies in coffee, oil, and gold?

Most Africans and all supporters of the principle of self-determination would respond to Soares that the Portuguese have no right to negotiate anything about the future of the colonies. All Lisbon has a "right" to do is withdraw its troops immediately and unconditionally, renounce all its forms of economic and political domination of the colonies, and turn over



Striking postal workers in Lisbon. CP calls these workers 'agents of fascism.'

The next big question asked by the *Daily World's* troubled correspondent was, "Can the Portuguese Communist Party handle the ultra-'left'?"

Soares assured him that "they have no real influence" and they "have no roots in the working class." But this is not too convincing, especially since he then went on to deliver a quite lengthy denunciation of the activities of these groups.

The truthfulness of Soares's account can be judged from his statement, "Where their meetings attract perhaps 150 people, the PCP rallies attract many thousands."

Who do the Stalinists think they can fool with such blatant lies? Last month radical groups critical of the CP held a rally, attended by 8,000—according to news accounts—in the Lisbon Coliseum, demanding immediate independence for the African colonies. The capitalist press has been forced to report the impact of the demonstrations of several thousands that have embarrassed the Spínola regime with the demand for an end to the colonial wars.

These demonstrations have attracted significant numbers of rank-and-file soldiers and sailors, as well as Black immigrant workers from the colonies. What a powerful antiwar movement could be built if the CP, the largest party in the workers movement, would join in building it instead of using its influence to cover up for Portuguese colonialism!

### 'Agents of fascism'

But who are the "ultralefts"? In the CP's view, they are not just the organized tendencies to the left of the CP, but also the tens of thousands of workers who have struck for a decent living—against the dictates of the CP. For example, the Stalinists organized a demonstration against the striking postal workers last month,

conscious "agents of fascism!"

Soares went on to explain his view that workers should be satisfied with the meager 3,300-escudo-a-month (\$143) minimum wage granted by the Spínola regime—which doesn't even cover agricultural or domestic workers. The whole workers movement, including the CP prior to the coup, had rallied around the demand for a 6,000-escudo minimum. Soares had to admit that "this [3,300 escudos] is hardly an adequate wage." But he thinks the workers should accept it anyway.

He further asserted that "under existing objective conditions it is clear . . . that the problems posed by foreign monopoly companies cannot be placed at the top of a list of priorities." Translated into clear language, this means that the workers should not strike against the monopolies, should not fight for control over the industries, and should not demand their nationalization.

In trying to justify these reactionary policies in the name of "Communism," Soares continually fell back on appeals to the "complexity of the Portuguese situation," the peculiarities of



Spínola coalition government refused demand of labor movement for 6,000-escudo minimum wage, granting only 3,300.



# ...military tightens its grip in Portugal

Continued from page 24

their demonstration today while the Cabinet met.

"They were encouraged by the Communist party, even though it had two ministers in the government."

In the first phase of the new regime, the Communist party was the main political prop of the junta. Its cadres canalized the massive May Day marches into demonstrations of support for "the armed forces." It used all its influence in the labor movement to break the momentum of the strike wave unleashed by the fall of the police state. It denounced worker militants and demonstrators against the colonial war as provocateurs and accomplices of the fascists. And in particular, it mobilized strong political pressure to break the postal strike in late June, which was the first nationwide labor struggle since the coup and the strongest challenge to the junta's crackdown.

However, in the days that followed the defeat of the postal strike, the Communist party seems to have become worried by the rapidly escalating repression. It had mobilized 3,000 of its members and supporters outside the Lisbon central post office to chant that the strikers were "sabotaging democracy." But immediately after the strike was broken, the junta brought out new repressive legislation restoring government censorship of the press.

In an editorial June 28, the Communist party weekly *Avante* said: "An institutionalization of our democratic freedoms is inevitable. It can only confirm the situation that exists de facto, legally recognizing that these rights are an established and definitive reality. This is the institutionalization the people hope for and demand."

"But at the same time tendencies are manifesting themselves that run counter to this hope. These are tendencies to make institutionalization mean regulation, not the official establishment of democratic freedoms but the legal limitation of these freedoms; not the consolidation of the democratic freedoms that have been achieved, but a restriction of these freedoms, which in some cases may even compromise them."

The Portuguese Communist party's strategy of "consolidating" the gains



'We are going to build a new Portugal,' says banner of school teachers demonstrating for educational reforms.

of the post-April period is similar to the one their Chilean comrades followed in the last period of the Allende government. It is based on the belief that the bourgeoisie will accept advanced reforms in stages, as long as the workers do not appear to be threatening its fundamental positions or demanding "too much" at once.

This evolutionary and reformist concept is totally utopian, as the Chilean events demonstrated and as the process in Portugal is also demonstrating at a much more rapid rate.

Far from "consolidating" the gains of the post-April period, the Communist party's strategy of holding back the struggles of the workers and the impoverished masses simply opened the way for the bourgeois counterattack. And after this offensive had gotten under way, the belated "militant" turn of the CP only accelerated it.

In the first weeks after the coup, in the absence of any strong bourgeois-liberal or Social Democratic formation, the Communist party was the only political force that could exercise a restraining influence on the workers. It was the essential political prop of the new regime.

However, in the nature of things the gratitude of the Portuguese bourgeoisie was rather limited.

"Moderates here have watched with

growing alarm as the Communist party has spread out over the country either directly or behind the facade of other groups," Giniger wrote from Lisbon July 14.

Thus, even if the Communist party has in fact played the role of a moderate party, it can never really be trusted by the bourgeoisie both because it has ultimately to depend on working-class support and because of its ties to the Soviet Union. Its very success, as in the case of the Indonesian and Chilean CPs, can lead to disaster when the bourgeoisie finds it necessary to reestablish its direct control over society,

There can hardly be any doubt that the fall of the first provisional government represents an important new step in the bourgeois crackdown in Portugal. In his first press conference, Colonel Vasco de Gonçalves, the new premier appointed July 13, described the program of his government this way, according to a dispatch from Giniger in the July 14 *New York Times*:

"Colonel Gonçalves said that among the important tasks of the new government was formulation of new laws on the press, labor unions and an electoral system. The press law is expected to contain restrictions on newspapers and broadcasting stations,

which are now considered to be in leftist hands. The labor law is expected to impose limits on the right to strike, while the electoral law is expected to bar small political groups, notably on the extreme left, from participating in elections, which are scheduled for next year."

The new government has a more pronounced Bonapartist character, tougher but still retaining a certain reformist luster. It is dominated by military officers advertised as "above politics." Gonçalves himself is touted as a representative of the Armed Forces Movement of liberal officers. In all, it seems the 'deal instrument for carrying out a further stage of the crackdown.

The Communist party, moreover, despite its brief and halfhearted show of militancy, seems ready to accept a reduced position in the new cabinet. "Cunhal, whose personal prestige remains intact, continues to support his party's participation in a coalition government," Marcel Niedergang wrote in the July 13 *Le Monde*. "He was given a private audience of more than an hour on Thursday [July 11] by General Spínola, who knows how to judge his enemies and his collaborators. In fact, the general secretary of the PCP [Partido Comunista Português] is far from thinking that in the present circumstances a Peruvian-type formula [a reformist military dictatorship] would be a bad solution for Portugal."



Demonstrator tells off cop during recent crackdown on protests.

# ...African anticolonial struggle sharpens

Continued from page 24

million in gold bullion."

"The gold," the *Times* continued, "represented payment by South Africa of the deferred wages of migrant Mozambique miners for the three months from April, the month of the coup in Lisbon."

While no longer dealing in the slave trade, Portugal continues to reap profits from commerce in laborers. Black Africans are forced, through the obligatory labor laws of the Portuguese colonial regimes, to sell themselves to work as contract laborers under brutal conditions in the mines of South Africa.

The South African mining companies have signed agreements with the Portuguese government to help meet their great need for labor power. One such agreement, the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association Agreement between Mozambique and South Africa, obliges the Portuguese government to send 80,000 Black people a year from Mozambique to South African mines. In return, South Africa ships 48 percent of its foreign

trade through Mozambiquan ports and pays Portugal \$5.33 for every African it sends.

In addition to all this, South Africa sends to Portugal half the wages of the migrant workers in gold ingots. This money is paid back to the African workers in Portuguese currency, but not for some 18 months. The profit Portugal makes on this unequal exchange is estimated at more than \$10-million a year!

The recent attempted gold shipment to Portugal shows that the government of General Spínola is continuing to wring these profits out of African workers. The obligatory labor laws of the precoup Portuguese dictatorship remain intact and are enforced by the current coalition government, which includes the Communist and Socialist parties.

In Mozambique, Portuguese rule is facing serious challenge from the actions of the guerrilla forces of Frelimo. Frelimo troops have blown up sections of the vital Beira-Tete railway line every week for the past three

weeks. Each attack has halted supplies for the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam in northwestern Mozambique.

The third attack on the railway, on July 15, came less than 24 hours after the track was reopened following explosions on July 11. Frelimo has also stepped up its actions against Portuguese troops, laying siege to the town of Morrumbala in northern Mozambique, in an area where Frelimo has not been active before.

Meanwhile, the situation in Guinea-Bissau is somewhat different. *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Dial Torgerson wrote, "Peace talks, broken off last month in Algiers, may be resumed soon, according to informed sources in Lisbon. But what has happened at grass-roots level here has moved far faster than perhaps even the politicians realize."

Referring to the spreading fraternization between antiwar Portuguese troops and the rebel guerrillas, Torgerson says, "No one here believes the war can ever start again."

Henry Giniger, writing in the July 13 *New York Times* from Lisbon, reported that "informed political and diplomatic sources" were pointing to the possibility of early recognition by Lisbon of the government of Guinea-Bissau, established last year by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). Guinea-Bissau has been recognized by more than 80 countries.

The fact that Guinea-Bissau has the least resources of any of the Portuguese colonies makes it comparatively easier for the Portuguese government to let it go.

In Mozambique and particularly in Angola, Portugal has too much at stake to pull out. General Spínola is seeking to force guerrilla forces in these nations to lay down their arms and await a referendum to decide the fate of the two colonies. In this situation, international demonstrations demanding that Lisbon withdraw its troops and grant independence to the colonies can have an important impact.

## Gov't harassment stepped up

# Colo. Chicanos protest grand jury probe

By PETER SEIDMAN  
and SKIP BALL

DENVER—Two hundred people demonstrated at the federal courthouse here on the morning of July 11 to protest the convening of a grand jury probe of two bombings that killed six people in Boulder.

While the courthouse was turned into a virtual armed camp, complete with 50 federal guards and several dozen Denver riot police patrolling the building, the demonstration outside was a peaceful show of opposition. Demonstrators said the grand jury's investigation is a fishing operation into the Chicano movement, rather than an attempt to find out who killed Reyes Martinez, Neva Romero, and Una Jaakola on May 27, and Florencio Granado, Francisco Dougherty, and Heriberto Terán on May 29.

While the demonstration was going on outside, attorneys for several Chicano organizations and individuals filed suit to halt the grand jury's probe on the grounds that the composition of the grand jury does not reflect Denver's Chicano population and that the jury's investigation constitutes illegal harassment and intimidation of Chicano activists.

The suit to halt the grand jury probe was filed by the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) at Colorado University in Boulder; the Crusade for Justice; the Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee; and several individuals.

Named as defendants were U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon; Rex Davis, director of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF); William Guant, regional ATF director; William Saxbe, U.S. attorney general; James Treece, U.S. attorney for Colorado; and Perry Wiggins, assistant U.S. attorney.

Also named as defendants were ATF agents known only as R.B. Brees, López, and Rodríguez, as well as un-



Militant/Frank Lord

July 4 march in Boulder commemorating six people killed in bombings and protesting harassment of Chicanos since convening of grand jury.

named ATF and local agents.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Ernesto Vigil, a leader of the Crusade for Justice, explained that the grand jury had subpoenaed the widows of both Florencio Granado and Heriberto Terán. They have also called in Frieda Bugarin, owner of one of the cars destroyed in the explosions. Moreover, Vigil says that authorities have been trying to subpoena the wife of Antonio Alcantar. Alcantar was severely wounded in the May 29 blast and is still hospitalized. Alcantar's wife, who is pregnant, requires special medical attention because she is an epileptic. Vigil says the grand jury appearance threatens her health and the life of her child.

Vigil reports that the Chicano Liberation Defense Committee in Denver knows of 20 individuals in various Chicano organizations around Colorado who are the subjects of investigation and harassment by federal agents seeking to get information on them for the grand jury's fishing expedition.

Federal agents are telling people in the course of their investigations, Vigil says, that these 20 individuals are responsible for "more than 60 bombings since February" in this state.

Assisting the grand jury probe are agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Bureau of the Treasury Department. This bureau, well known for its role in trying to turn victims of bombings organized or provoked by the government or right-wing groups into the criminals, has assigned agents to keep constant watch over several Chicano leaders.

John Espinosa, a leader of Boulder UMAS and one of those filing suit to halt the grand jury, told *The Militant*, "A lot of people have been getting new neighbors lately." He said agents who identified themselves to his neighbors moved in next door to him recently.

The July 11 protest at the courthouse came in the wake of an even larger demonstration July 4 commemorating those killed in the Boulder explosions and protesting the stepped-

up campaign of government harassment of Chicanos here following the convening of the federal grand jury. More than 500 people came in car caravans from Greeley, Alamosa, Denver, and from the Boulder UMAS chapter, in which some of those killed had been active. Demonstrators went from Denver to the scene of the two explosions in Boulder—ending their march with a rally in Chataqua Park.

A theme of most of the speeches at the rally was the need for a united Chicano movement to confront the stepped-up campaign of government harassment of Colorado's Chicano activists since the bombing. At the same time, speeches at the rally debunked the police and media's explanation for the bombings—that those killed had been victims of premature explosions of bombs they were assembling.

Speaker after speaker stressed the need for activists to "educate and organize" the people and counterposed this perspective to isolated terrorist acts such as bombings.

"You don't have to be a heavy or a leader to teach people," Corky Gonzales, a leader of the Crusade for Justice told the rally. "And when you teach people you don't drive them to do foolish things. You teach them to organize."

Other speakers at the rally included Ernesto Vigil; José Calderón, state co-chairman of the Raza Unida Party; Ricardo Romero; Brian Sánchez; and Antonio Archuleta. Statements of solidarity with the march were passed out from the LADS organization, a Chicano prisoners group, and from the 1974 Colorado Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

The SWP statement, which was quoted in part in the Denver *Post's* coverage of the march, called for an independent commission of inquiry responsible to the Chicano community to investigate the bombings.

## Rally will demand Puerto Rican independence

By DOUG JENNESS

July 25 marks the twenty-second anniversary of the commonwealth status for Puerto Rico. On this day in 1952 a ceremony was held in San Juan where Governor Luis Muñoz Marin raised Puerto Rico's flag next to the Stars and Stripes. Marin had earlier hailed the commonwealth relationship, or *Estado Libre Asociado* (Free Associated State), as "a new alternative, equal in dignity, although different in nature, from independence or federated statehood."

He insisted, "We are not engaged in taking another step to self-government, this is self-government."

In the following year, President Eisenhower's delegate to the United Nations advised that organization that Puerto Rico was a "self-governing territory." He requested that the United States no longer be required to issue annual reports to the U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. This request was granted.

These changes, however, did not alter the hard facts—Puerto Rico remained a colony of the United States. This "self-governing territory" does not have the right to direct its own foreign relations. It has no say over who can enter and leave its shores. A U.S. federal court is maintained on the island to try and judge Puerto Ricans under yankee laws. Puerto Rico is barred from setting its own tariffs,

controlling its own mails and currency, and taking part in commercial treaties.

There is no limit to the right of the U.S. to expropriate Puerto Rican lands and property, and hundreds of acres have been set aside by Washington for U.S. military bases. At every level—economic, political, and social—the U.S. rulers exploit their colony in the Caribbean to increase their own profits.

Last December the United Nations, in response to a long campaign by proindependence organizations, reversed its position on Puerto Rico by approving a resolution recognizing "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination." It instructed the U.S. and the corporations under its jurisdiction to refrain from any measures that might serve as obstacles to decolonization.

The U.S. government, however, continues to deny that Puerto Rico is a colony and promotes the myth that Puerto Rico is the "showcase of democracy."

To help increase awareness in the United States of Puerto Rico's colonial status and help mobilize opposition to it, a rally has been called for Madison Square Garden in New York City on Oct. 27. Initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the action is being organized by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee. Among the members on the commit-

tee's national board are Clyde Bellecourt, of the American Indian Movement; Father Phillip Berrigan; Professor Noam Chomsky; Bert Carona, of CASA, Hermandad General de Trabajadores; David Dellinger, from *Liberation* magazine; and Corky Gonzales, of the Crusade for Justice.

The committee is also soliciting the sponsorship of dozens of organizations and individuals. Some of the sponsors so far are the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the *Guardian*, New American Movement, Young Workers Liberation League, Revolutionary Union, and October League.

Organized around the theme of a "Bicentennial Without Colonies," the central political demand is "Independence for Puerto Rico." The call distributed by the Solidarity Day Com-

mittee states, "In 1976 the United States will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. It is a farce to speak of celebrating the 1776 revolution against colonialism while denying freedom to another people. The millions of Americans who rejected U.S. domination in Vietnam must join in demanding an end to U.S. domination of the courageous Puerto Rican people."

Support committees are being established throughout the East Coast and the Midwest to organize transportation for people to come to New York on Oct. 27. Printed literature can be ordered by writing or calling the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee, P.O. Box 319, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-0540. Tickets are \$3 each.



Puerto Rican independence demonstration

Claridad/Miguel Rivera



# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,  
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

JULY 26, 1974

## Baghdad's war against the Kurds

# Arab revolutionists explain why they support Kurdish self-determination

[The following article appeared in the March-April issue of *Al Munadel*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Group, Lebanese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Once again "northern Iraq"—that is, the part of Kurdistan that British colonialism included within the borders of the Iraqi state—is the site of a confrontation between the forces of the Baghdad government and those of the Peshmerga, the armed movement linked to the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP). Judging from the circumstances that led to the present conflict and from the fact that the fate of the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan is at stake, it seems this time as though we are on the threshold of a war of vast scope, a war of the sort witnessed during the Aref era [1963-

present war is a secret to no one: The Kurdish nation is one of the most oppressed nations of our epoch. It not only suffers from separation and division, like the Arab nation, but also from the fact that none of its parts in themselves constitute a state.

### Oppression of Kurds

Colonialism supervised the division of Kurdistan into segments incorporated as (oppressed) minorities into the larger states of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria (and even the Soviet Union). The Kurdish nation thus suffers oppression on two levels—that of its splintered national reality and that of each of its parts. This oppression is not solely political but is multifaceted in the extreme. It includes a very important cultural aspect, inasmuch as the different states into which Kurdistan is divided seek in varying degrees to smother the cul-

In Iraq, the Kurdish people represent at least a quarter of the country's population, while in the other states it is not even close to this proportion. Furthermore, the region they inhabit represents a significant portion of the territory of the Iraqi state. This is why the Kurdish national liberation movement has been able to develop in Iraq and impose itself by force of arms on successive governments in Baghdad.

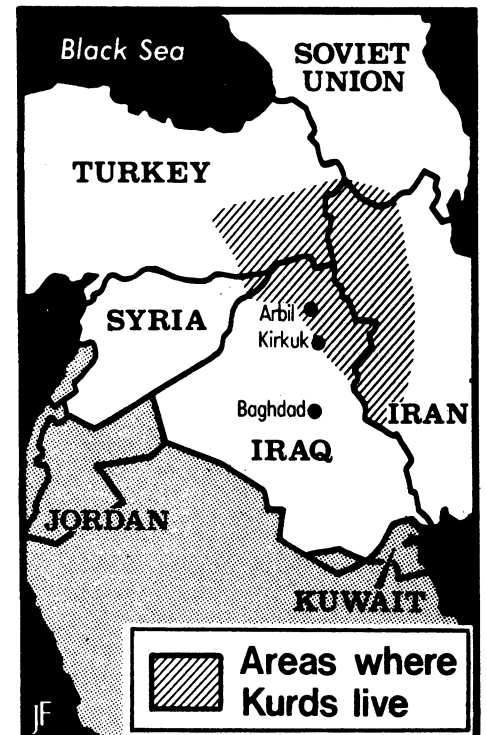
On the other hand, in Iran, Turkey, and Syria the movement has remained much weaker. In these countries, it has had to face the repressive terror of states that are much stronger than the present Kurdish movement within their borders.

When the Baath grouping took power in Iraq in July 1968 through their habitual putschist methods, the first task they set for themselves was to liquidate the revolutionary upsurge that Iraq as well as the other Arab countries had experienced since June 1967.

The principal manifestation of this revolutionary upsurge was perhaps, in that period, the armed struggle launched by Khaled Ahmed Zaki in southern Iraq. Khaled's undertaking—which was not without a certain focoist inspiration—was based on a dual gamble. On the one hand, he counted on a linkup between the armed struggle he and his comrades had launched with the radicalized tendencies inside the Iraqi CP, where a split had resulted in the formation of the "Central Leadership." On the other hand, he also gambled on a linkup between his struggle and the forces of the Kurdish revolution.

The Iraqi bourgeoisie became aware of the seriousness of the situation and of the revolutionary possibilities that could result if this tripartite linkup were to take place. This fact was of decisive importance in accelerating the Baathist coup. The putschists took action with the aim of thwarting Khaled's revolutionary undertaking.

They set out to liquidate all real or potential revolutionary forces, beginning with the weakest—the armed struggle nucleus—in order then to crush the "Central Leadership." That was to be followed by an effort to crush the active forces of the classical Stalinist faction of the "Central Committee"—indeed every component of the organized workers movement in Iraq. As for the Kurdish movement, the Baathist regime chose to neutralize this force until it had settled ac-



Christian Science Monitor

counts with the Communist tendencies. This neutralization was strictly a provisional, tactical measure aimed at dividing the opposition forces, isolating each one, and suppressing them.

### The 1970 Truce

The Baathist regime's efforts to neutralize the Kurdish movement were codified in the well-known accords signed March 11, 1970.

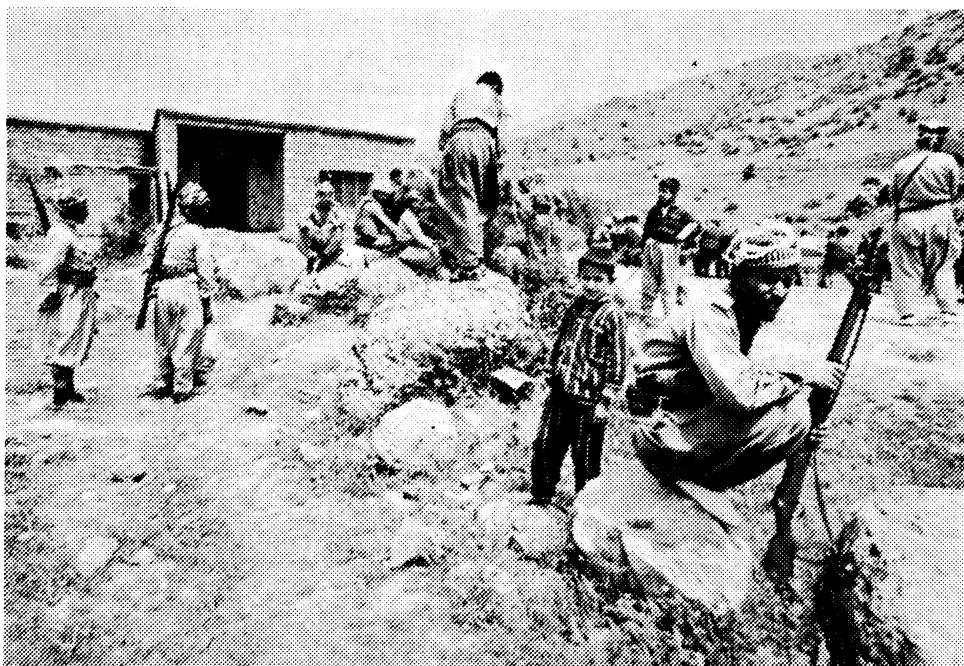
The agreement reached between the Baghdad government and the KDP leadership was the common fruit of tactical calculations by the Baathists and the Kurdish movement's military forces. The accords contained—as the price of the truce they established—some concessions on the part of the Baathist regime, including the promise to grant self-government to the Kurdish people in Iraq by March 1974, that is, four years later. This was the length of time the Baathists judged sufficient for carrying out their plans. In the meantime, the Kurdish movement and the Baghdad government were supposed to work out the terms of the self-government formula.

This was not the first time the Baathist regime had resorted to the tactic of neutralization. As early as March 1963, a month after they had taken power and begun their odious campaign of exterminating the communists and the workers movement, the Baath putschists purchased the neutrality of the Kurdish movement through a set of agreements that also promised self-government. These accords soon crumbled, however, and fighting began again in June of the same year.

### Baathist Demagogy

The Iraqi Baathists' reputation for demagogy has already been solidly established, since they have always tried to glorify to the maximum their

*Continued on following page*



Kurdish village in Iraq. Oppression of Kurds includes attempts to smother their language and culture, as well as their political domination by other nations.

68] and the end of the Kassem era [Kassem headed the Iraqi government from 1958 to 1963].

In fact, however, from the second decade of the twentieth century to the present—that is, for more than half a century—there has been nearly permanent war between the Kurdish people and its various Arab, Persian, British, and other oppressors, a war occasionally interrupted by periods of truce that always turned out to be temporary. The cause of this perma-

tural expression of the Kurdish people (more so in Turkey, and relatively less in the Soviet Union).

The question may be raised as to why there is a Kurdish revolution under way only in the Iraqi section. The explanation for this fact is not to be found in some higher level of consciousness of the Kurds in northern Iraq, nor in other subjective factors, but mainly in the different relationship of forces from one state to another.

## '...unconditional support to struggle of oppressed

Continued from preceding page

most vile measures, and to present decisions based on strict calculations of their narrow interests as the product of the purest principles and the most unblemished revolutionary idealism. From the farce of the "Progressive Patriotic Front," the political cover for a Baathist dictatorship described as the summit of democracy (if Great Britain is the "cradle of parliamentary democracy," the Iraq of today is assuredly the grave of democracy in any of its forms!), to the March 11, 1970, accords, which were described by the Baathists as proof of the "internationalism" of their party (sic!)—there is no reason for us to be astonished at this pretension of internationalism, since the Baathist regime also claims adherence to "socialism," and even to its "scientific version"!—from the one to the other we see the same method of combining mystifying propaganda with an absolutely hollow din.

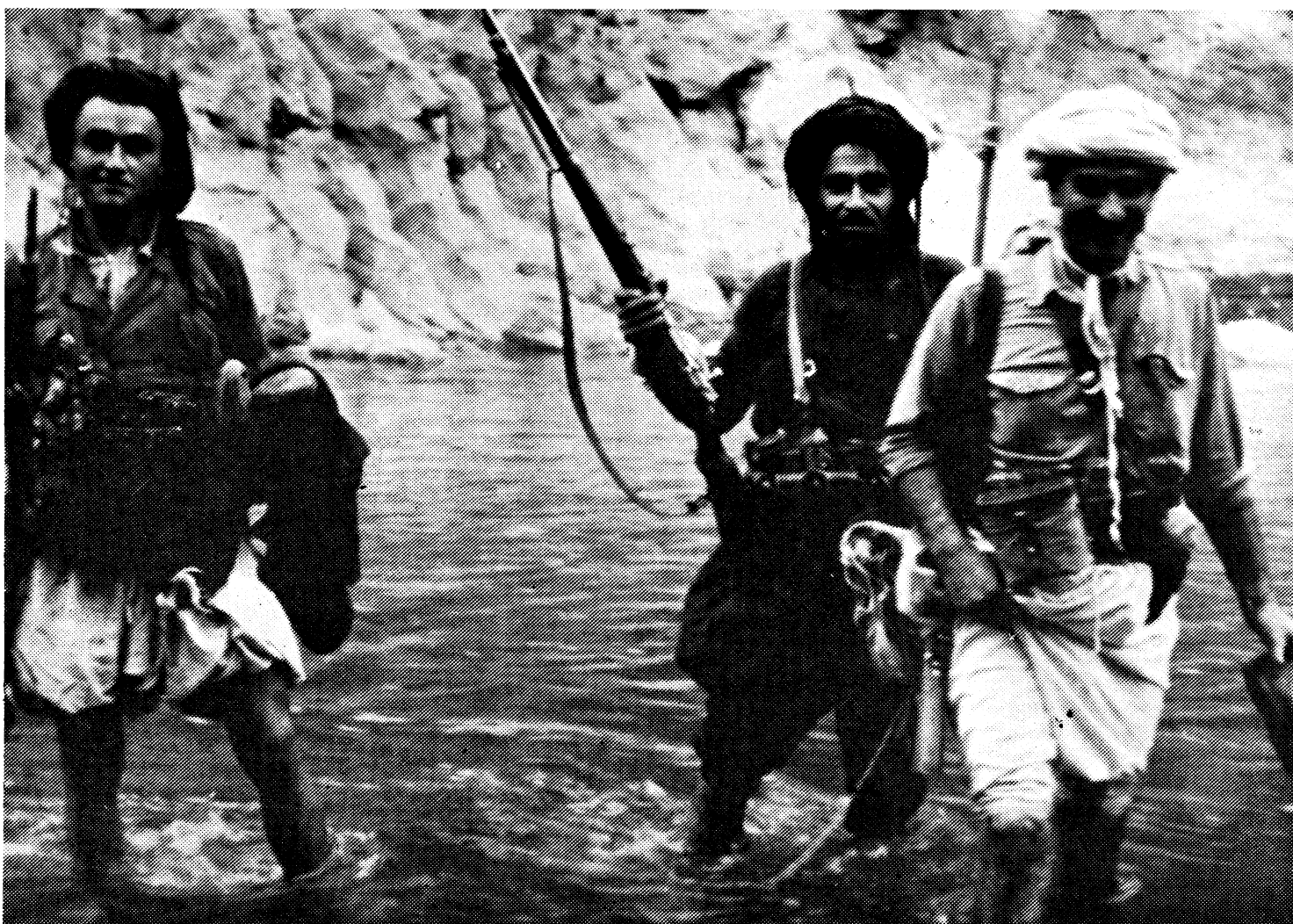
Similarly, upon examination the 'self-government' plan put forward by the Baath party this year turns out to be, not Kurdish self-government, but self-government for the Baath party in the Kurdish region! This plan projected special administrative apparatuses for the Kurdish region (it could hardly have done otherwise!), but they were to be subject to the direct and total control of the Baghdad central government. The plan also gave the central government broad prerogatives for intervening in the affairs of Kurdistan, which (if they had ever come to be applied) would have represented a step backward in some regions, given the actual autonomy they currently enjoy under the control of the Peshmerga.

### Caricature of Self-government

It was therefore to be expected that the KDP would refuse this caricature of self-government, following its previous refusal to join the farcical "Progressive Patriotic Front." For the KDP is the genuine leadership of the Kurdish national movement, as opposed to those grouplets bound hand and foot to the Baghdad government—such as the one that has given itself the name Kurdish Revolutionary party in order to carry out a counterrevolutionary policy, or the groups of traitors in the pay of the Baath party, the Iraqi equivalent of the Jaabari traitors on the West Bank of the Jordan.



SHAH OF IRAN: Some people try to justify support to Baghdad government by pointing to his support of Kurds in Iraq.



Kurdish guerrillas. They fought British, Iranian, and Iraqi aggression in 1946, took part in overthrow of Iraqi monarchy, and have fought all the Iraqi regimes since then.

We say that this rejection was to be expected, but not because we believe in the revolutionary virtues of the KDP leadership. We do not have the slightest illusions on that score. We say it because the KDP and the movement it leads are strong enough to be free of any compulsion to sell their sovereignty for a "mess of pottage" and submit to a fictitious self-government scheme such as the one proposed by the Baath party. In the same way, it was the strength of the KDP that enabled it to refuse to participate in a "front" that in reality would have signified the submission of its members to the Baathist regime.

To those who explain the position taken by the KDP as being instigated by Iran and by U.S. imperialism—an explanation that seeks to justify support to the Baghdad government—we ask the following questions: When the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad faced British, Iranian, and Iraqi aggression in 1946, was its military leader, the same Mullah Mustafa Barzani, an agent of the alliance between Iran and the imperialists? When Barzani fled to the Soviet Union and lived there for more than ten years, was he acting under the instigation of imperialism? When the Kurdish movement took part in the 1958 overthrow of the Hashemite regime, an agent of imperialism, was it motivated by reactionary aims? And how can we explain the fact that this movement also fought the Kassem regime (beginning in 1961), and then its bitter Baathist enemies, and afterwards the Aref regime...? Can we explain this persistence in the national struggle through some external logic? This is categorically excluded! The genuine and fundamental motive force of the KDP's struggle is its nationalism (which is also, as we shall see, the reason for its opportunism).

The Kurdish Democratic party is, in a way, a broad national front comprising diverse social layers and classes, ranging from semifeudal elements to poor peasants and workers. Inside the KDP there coexist various political currents ranging from religious reactionaries to left-wing petty-bourgeois elements, all of which have nationalism as their common denominator. The Barzani leadership constitutes, if one may speak in these terms, a Bonapartist leadership trying to reconcile the class divisions among the Kurdish people by leading their struggle from a nationalist point of view and covering over the internal social differentiation.

The KDP's nationalism enables it to justify all sorts of alliances and sources of aid if they meet the needs of its immediate national struggle. For this reason, it could just as well collaborate with the Soviet Union as with the United States or another imperialist power—that is, with anyone who is opposed to the central government in Baghdad.

Thus it is not support from Iran that determines the position taken by the KDP but rather the KDP's nationalism that explains its predisposition to collaborate with Iran. If we emphasize this fact, it is because it is connected with the problem of what position should be taken on the Kurdish revolution.

### Leninism and National Rights

The Leninist position on the national question—which is put forward not only in all Lenin's writings on the question but also in the actual practice of the Leninist leadership of the young Soviet republic and Communist International—is based on two fundamental principles: defense of the right of nations to self-determination,

which includes unconditional support to the struggle of oppressed nations against their oppressors; and a class analysis of the national movements, along with aid to the formation of a proletarian tendency inside these movements, a tendency that may be able to stand up to the leadership by prevailing over the other class tendencies.

There is no contradiction between these two basic considerations; on the contrary, they are in perfect harmony. Communists' defense of oppressed nationalities regardless of the nature of their leadership is the best, if not the only, way to strengthen the proletarian communist current within these nationalities.

Failure to understand this point means a failure to understand the entire Leninist strategy for proletarian revolution!

How would the Leninist position—the only genuine position of proletarian internationalism—be interpreted where our subject is concerned? The question is not the least bit complicated.

Revolutionary communists defend the right of the Kurdish nation to self-determination, including its right to separate from its oppressors and form its own state (from this alone it is obvious that characterizing the Kurdish movement as separatist can in no way influence the position of revolutionaries). They support the struggle of the Kurdish people unconditionally, regardless of the nature of its leadership. At the same time, however, they seek to expose the limitations and opportunism of the Kurdish movement's feudal-bourgeois leadership.

They also encourage the Kurdish workers to form their own organization and fight to gain the leadership of the Kurdish revolution in order to assure that it links up with the



# nations against their oppressors'

struggle of the workers and poor peasants of Iraq and all the other states that oppress the Kurdish nation.

## The Stalinist Position

That is the Leninist position and the only internationalist position! As for the support of Stalinist Arabs to the Baghdad government, this coincides perfectly with what we have been accustomed to see from them: the betrayal of the most elementary principles of proletarian internationalism if they come into contradiction with the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Soviet bureaucracy currently supports the Iraqi government. This is a continuation of its foolish policy of cooperating with everyone who desires it, even if their desire for such cooperation is motivated by narrow, reactionary interests of a temporary character and has the purpose of assuring the neutralization of Soviet supporters in their own country (we say this policy is stupid because it has resulted in a number of setbacks, even for the Soviet bureaucracy itself). The Stalinists see a "great step forward" in the present Baathist self-government plan, whereas they viewed its March 1963 counterpart as a mystifying maneuver of the "fascist" Baath party!

To those who refuse to support the Kurdish movement under the pretext that its leadership—the leadership of Mullah Mustafa Barzani—is reactionary and backward, we ask the following questions: What do you think the "right of nations to self-determination" means if you pose as a precondition to this right the existence of a revolutionary leadership at the head of an oppressed nation? And do you be-

lieve that you will contribute to the creation of this revolutionary leadership if you refuse—in the name of "revolutionary" principles—to support the struggle of the oppressed nation? Quite the contrary, your position will strengthen the arguments of the counterrevolutionaries within the oppressed nationality.

ter was led by the Bolsheviks. What then can be said if the "separatists" are struggling against the government of a Baathist dictatorship?

Lenin's reply to Bukharin on the proper attitude toward the national question is extremely clear and correct: "We cannot deny [the right to self-determination] to a single one of the peoples living within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire. . . . What, then, can we do in relation to such peoples as the Kirghiz, the Uzbeks, the Tajiks, the Turkmen, who to this day are under the influence of the mullahs? . . . Can we approach these peoples and tell them that we shall overthrow their exploiters? We cannot do this, because they are entirely subordinated to their mullahs. In such cases we have to wait until the given nation develops, until the differentiation of the proletariat from the bourgeois elements, which is inevitable, has taken place.

. . . To reject the self-determination of nations and insert the self-determination of the working people would be absolutely wrong, because this manner of settling the question does not reckon with the difficulties, with the zigzag course taken by differentiation within nations.

. . . Every nation must obtain the right to self-determination, and that will make the self-determination of the working people easier. . . . If we were to declare that we do not recognise any Finnish nation, but only the working people, that would be sheer nonsense. We cannot refuse to recognise what actually exists; it will itself compel us to recognise it. The demarcation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is proceeding in different coun-

Arabia, what would you say in reply? The question under discussion here is identical, and you cannot resort to different yardsticks depending on whether or not the oppressed belong to your nation or to another! That position represents the height of opportunism and chauvinism.

Does our position mean that we do not criticize the ties between the Barzani leadership and Iran? To the con-



LENIN: He warned against basing one's position in respect to oppressed nations on the nature of their leaderships.

trary, our duty as communists is to denounce the Barzani leadership and to struggle for the formation of an alternative proletarian leadership for the Kurdish revolution!

## Opportunism of Barzani

The opportunism of the feudal-bourgeois leadership of the Kurdish movement, the Mullah Barzani leadership, has on several occasions led the Kurdish people's struggle into dead ends. In 1963, for example, it took a neutral attitude toward the reactionary Baathist coup and permitted the Baathists to organize their campaign of exterminating communists. In return, its repayment was a new war launched by the Baathist regime a few months later.

The Barzani leadership agreed to come to terms on a truce with the Baathist regime that emerged from the July 1968 coup. The new regime then took advantage of the truce to attack the workers movement. Today it has once again shown its fangs to the Kurdish movement after having accomplished its initial task.

In both cases, the Kurdish movement found itself weakened by the weakening of the workers opposition, that is, after the Kurdish movement itself had permitted the weakening of the latter.

Barzani is currently allying himself with the shah of Iran as though he had forgotten that the shahinshah's government is one of the most ferocious oppressors of the Kurdish nation, and as though he were unaware

that genuine self-government in Iraqi Kurdistan would represent for the Iranian government a far more serious danger than the Baghdad regime. Barzani has thus formed an alliance with a force that will undoubtedly stab him in the back. The fact that he declares he is prepared to renounce Kurdish national rights in Iran and Turkey is only a new product of the extreme opportunism he is capable of. In this case it has led him to betray the interests of the other sections of his own nation.

## Reunification of Kurds

Limiting the Kurdish national struggle solely to Iraq performs a service for imperialism. For the main aspect of the revolutionary potential of the Kurdish people's struggle stems from the fact that it is in conflict not only with the Iraqi government but also with the Turkish, Iranian, and Syrian governments. The very dynamic of this struggle leads it to this confrontation, because the Kurdish nation is a unit despite its division.

Reunification of the Kurdish nation is a task of considerable scope because it involves a revolutionary confrontation with the reactionary governments in the imperialist camp. This task cannot be taken up, much less carried out, except by a revolutionary proletarian leadership that will have to get rid of the present reactionary leadership. This task can be accomplished only if the struggle of the Kurdish nation is linked to the struggle of the working masses of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. That is, it must be integrated into the process of socialist revolution on a scale that embraces the entire region.

Defend the right of the Kurdish nation to self-determination!

For a proletarian leadership of the Kurdish revolution!

For a united, independent, socialist Kurdistan!

Long live the fusion of the Arab and Kurdish revolutions!

Long live proletarian internationalism!



MULLAH MUSTAFA BARZANI (center): His refusal to seek an alliance with revolutionary forces in Iraq has been costly to the Kurdish movement.

lieve that you will contribute to the creation of this revolutionary leadership if you refuse—in the name of "revolutionary" principles—to support the struggle of the oppressed nation? Quite the contrary, your position will strengthen the arguments of the counterrevolutionaries within the oppressed nationality.

For the same reasons, Lenin warned against basing one's position in respect to oppressed nations on the nature of their leaderships. He supported recognition of Finnish independence despite the fact that the leadership of the separatist movement consisted of reactionary Social Democrats. Let us note the fact that Finland withdrew from the Soviet Union when the lat-

tries in their own specific ways. Here we must act with utmost caution." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 172-74.)

And to those who justify their chauvinist attitude under the pretext of objection to the relationship between Iran and the Barzani leadership of the Kurdish movement,\* we ask the following: If someone told you that he refused to support the struggle of the Palestinian people because the leadership of Fateh is linked with Saudi

\*Why do they say nothing about the alliance between the Turkish government—a reactionary, proimperialist dictatorship—and the Iraqi government against the Kurdish movement?

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## Chile: the situation today

[The following is abridged from an interview conducted in New York June 9 with a foreigner who resided in Chile during the past year.]

*Question. You've been in Chile since before the September 1973 coup. How does the extent of the political repression today compare with what it was like last September?*

*Answer.* The repression in Chile is still very, very strong. And it has changed its nature. Whereas before it was a wanton destruction of human beings, it has now become selective. They're still not that well organized, but they're beginning to coordinate. They are beginning to look for specific people.

But at the same time, they are also continuing mass repression. There was a rather nasty example of this that took place in March. *El Mercurio* wrote that in a large *población* [poor neighborhood], there had been a series of mass arrests of habitual criminals, and that the authorities were starting a "rehabilitation" program by sending people up to the north to build roads. That is a great way to rehabilitate people—forced labor camps.

*Q. You mention that some people who were arrested had been drugged. Do you know any more about the junta's use of drugs?*

*A.* The fact that they are using drugs in their tortures we know. I heard a case myself from an embassy where a man sought to be classified as a refugee so that he could go to that particular country. He was religious, a right-wing Christian Democrat. He was a professor working at one of the French schools in Santiago, and he was picked up one day at the school. He was beaten until his skull was fractured.

This man had not only been hit on the skull. He had been given electric shocks and had burns from prolonged electric application—in the genitals, in the anus, and all over the rest of his body as well. He had been given ultraviolet light rays in the area of the lungs and the heart. He described the feeling—it was as if his lungs were burning like paper. He had been given an injection of some kind of drug that gave him hallucinations. The injection was given in his spinal cord. This treatment went on for twelve days.

He had been questioned not about

what he had done, because they knew very well that he hadn't done anything. They asked him whom he knew, if he knew anybody. He didn't. That's why they continued the torture for twelve days. They finally gave up.

He woke up, handcuffed, in a psychiatric ward in one of the hospitals in Santiago. The handcuffs were taken off. He was given 100 escudos and told to go home and forget about it.

*Q. There have been some reports of disaffection among former supporters of the junta. Did you see any evidence of this?*

*A.* I knew a man who was the administrative director of Coates, the British thread firm. He was a right-wing Christian Democrat. He was also a private pilot and flew reconnaissance flights over one of Allende's residences before the coup. In addition to that, he was placed at the head of a squad of soldiers in the area where he lived, which was where a large number of Allende's personal bodyguards were also living. So he was out hunting in the first weeks after the coup.

At the beginning, when I first got to know him, he was ecstatically happy. Later on, he was quite unhappy. This was around the beginning of March, when he told me that things were rather bad at the factory. They normally worked with a two-week stock on hand, but at that time they had three months of stock on hand.

He was paying the workers about 27,000 escudos a month at that time. We both figured out that for someone to live minimally, that is, eating bread and spaghetti and living in a wooden shack in a *población*, you needed at least 30,000.

There are also some signs of division within the National party in their attitude toward the repression. I know of at least one case where an archreactionary lawyer, from an old family of landholding lawyers, is defending someone accused of having been a member of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. A lawyer in such cases has to be very delicate. Because if he's too good in the courtroom, he ends up in the courtroom himself—as a defendant. I know personally of at least one lawyer to whom this has happened. He was too good and they accused him of being a Communist.

## World news notes

### Repression continues in Sri Lanka

The massive repressive measures initiated in March and April 1971 by the Sri Lanka government in order to quell unrest generated by the deepening economic crisis there were the subject of a recent report by the International League for the Rights of Man.

The report confirmed earlier charges that some 6,000 people remain in detention from the 1971 crackdown. They have now been imprisoned for more than three years "without a trial or the prospect of a trial."

The prisoners are held incommunicado, and the report notes that "many families do not know if their children are among the jailed or missing." (An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 youth were killed during the repression in 1971.)

Those held in camps aren't the only detainees. The Bandaranaike government now requires an "exit visa" for those who want to travel abroad. Twice this year Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and leader of the Revolutionary Marxist party (Ceylonese section of the Fourth International), has been refused permission to leave Sri Lanka after applying for this visa. In January he was forbidden to go to a university seminar in Paris, and in February he was prevented from attending a trade-union conference in Geneva.

In June, in another instance of repression, the deputy editor of the *Ceylon Daily News* was sentenced to six months in jail because his paper had published an article said to be critical of the judiciary.



Ceylonese youth being rounded up by troops during 1971 repression. Six thousand are still being held.

### 185,000 dead since Vietnam 'peace'

Since the Vietnam cease-fire accord was signed in January 1973, military sources in Saigon estimate that more than 185,000 persons on both sides have been killed or wounded, according to a Reuters dispatch published in the June 28 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Most of these casualties, Reuters reported, occurred after U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho signed a revised cease-fire agreement on June 13, 1973, in Paris.

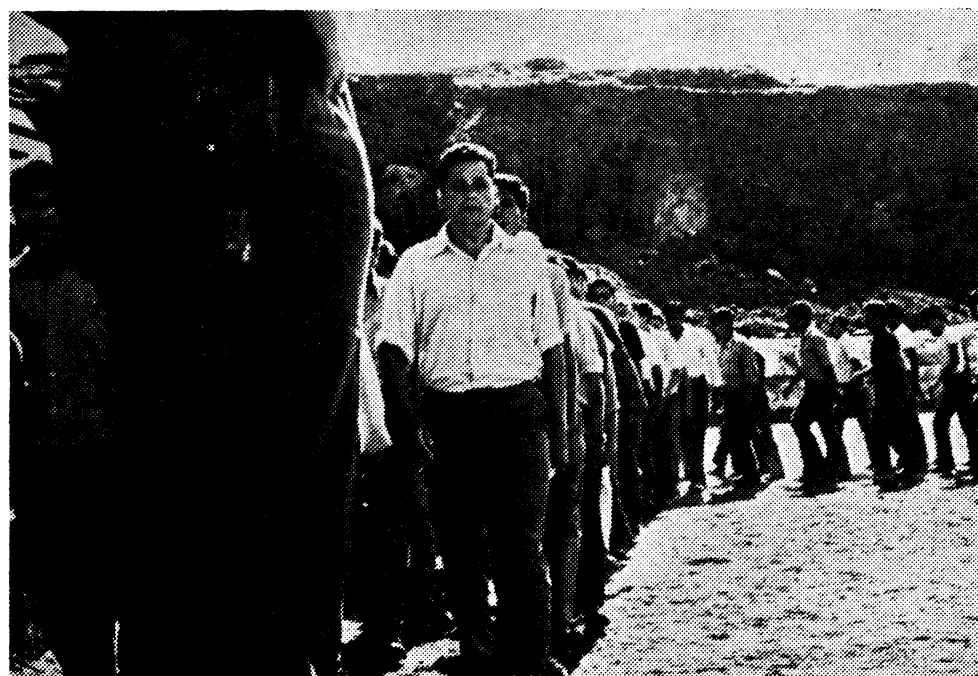
From noon on June 15 last year, when the second cease-fire was to go into effect, to 6 a.m. June 12, some 134,000 casualties have been reported.

### Mercury poisoning shows up in Tokyo

Is the "Minamata disease" spreading to Tokyo? The disease, which causes deformities, convulsions, deafness, blindness, and death, first appeared in the Japanese village of Minamata in the 1950s. Only years later was it discovered that the disease was actually mercury poisoning caused by wastes that a factory had dumped into a local stream. There are 428 officially recognized victims, 69 of whom died as a result of the poisoning.

Before any of the Minamata villagers were stricken, the symptoms of the disease were observed in village cats, who ate fish from the mercury-polluted waters. In the last year, Tokyo veterinarians have reported a sizable number of similarly affected cats, all of them normally fed on fish purchased in Tokyo stores.

One cat, which had a level of 23 parts per million of mercury in its fur—compared with less than 10 in normal cats—has given birth to a total of sixteen kittens. Twelve of the kittens died within days of their birth; one of the remaining four later lost all control over its legs; and the other three developed leg deformities, became deaf, and suffered convulsions.



Political prisoners at camp in Pisagua in Northern Chile



# Pittsburgh police terrorize Black community

By FRED STANTON

PITTSBURGH—The Black community here is being terrorized by armed racist gangs. Dozens of apartments have been invaded and ransacked, money and food stolen, and residents tear-gassed and threatened.

These assaults are being carried out not by bands of outlaws, but by the Pittsburgh police, under the pretext of conducting a city-wide manhunt after the killing of a cop here at the beginning of July.

The cops feel free to break into people's homes, claiming they don't need a search warrant because they are "looking for a killer."

One Black woman told of looking through the peephole in her apartment door and seeing "a dozen armed white men in plainclothes standing in the hallway." Panicked, she went to the window, only to see more whites with shotguns and machine guns standing in the courtyard.

Blacks have been stopped in the streets, harassed, and in several cases badly beaten.

An outburst of anger has swept the Black community in the wake of the police actions. Representatives from the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the Pittsburgh Courier (a newspaper serving the Black com-

munity), and various community and church groups have met to plan a response.

The NAACP is collecting and notarizing statements by persons who have been victims of the police. In addition, statements critical of the police have been issued by union officials from locals of the United Auto Workers, the United Electrical Workers, the United Mine Workers, and the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199.

In a statement issued July 11, Christina Adachi, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from Pennsylvania, blasted the police actions. "This wave of police brutality and harassment is part of a continuing national pattern of racist police violence," she charged. "The Pittsburgh cops are following the examples of the notorious 'Zebra' manhunt in San Francisco, the massacre of the Symbionese Liberation Army members in Los Angeles, and the killings of Blacks by police in Atlanta.

In contrast, Adachi's Democratic Party opponent for Senate and current mayor of Pittsburgh, Peter Flaherty, declared, "I support the police superintendent 100 percent in conducting a thorough, vigorous investigation."

In Pittsburgh, as elsewhere, the

police have for years assumed the roles of judge, jury, and executioner. In 1971, 12 cops beat George Cotton, a 19-year-old mentally retarded youth, with fists, flashlights, and clubs.

A few weeks later Ernest Williams was shot and killed by Officer Howard Landers. Landers was cleared by a grand jury. Then in September 1971, 17-year-old John Williams, brother of Ernest Williams, was shot by two policemen who suspected him of auto theft. They too were cleared of charges.

In June 1972, two policemen were brought to trial for the beating of Walter Lee Laney. An all-white jury acquitted the cops and convicted Laney.

In her statement, Adachi proposed, "In order to assure that those guilty of crimes against the Black community are apprehended and reparations made for the damage they have caused, an independent commission of inquiry should be formed. This commission, which should be responsible to the Black community, should not be made up of flunkies on the payroll of the police department or the mayor's office."

She said that to end police brutality the cops must be totally removed from

the Black community. "These racist vigilantes must be removed and replaced by a security force controlled by the Black community and made up of residents of that community."



Cop brutality like this has been escalated in Pittsburgh under guise of carrying out a 'manhunt.'

## Farm workers investigate Chicano 'drowning'

By DAVE BROWN

ESCALON, Calif.—Farm workers in this small agricultural town are demanding a new investigation into the death of Francisco Rangel Guzman, who died here June 7. His death came in an incident involving the U.S. Immigration Service, or *la migra* as Chicanos refer to it.

Guzman had been arrested by *la migra* for not possessing proper U.S. entry documents. He was being led to a car with his hands handcuffed behind his back with he reportedly fled through an orchard.

*La migra* officials asserted that Guzman—still handcuffed—ran about a mile through the orchard and drowned in a large irrigation canal while trying to cross it.

In an incredible whitewash, an inquest in Stockton, Calif., recently cleared the officers involved, Hanklin and Silvester, of any charges of misconduct.

Witnesses and Guzman's relatives and friends, however, are charging that Guzman was murdered and his body later thrown into the canal to create the appearance of a drowning.

They ask how Guzman, 40, could have run a mile through the orchard, climbing two steep embankments in the process with his hands handcuffed

behind his back, without being overtaken by *la migra*.

They further question why Guzman would have jumped into the swift-running (eight to nine miles an hour), eight- to nine-foot deep canal knowing he could not possibly cross it.

Other than officers Hanklin and Silvester, who claim they saw Guzman run down the embankment of the canal, no one actually saw Guzman in or near the canal. His body was

recovered four days later, several miles downstream.

A group called the Comité de Acción y Justicia (Committee for Action and Justice) has been meeting in Stockton, near Escalon, to organize the movement demanding a new investigation.

Hector Cavazos of the committee told *The Militant* that the original hearing was stacked. He pointed out that the jury was mostly old people (over

55) and 10 of the 12 were Anglos.

Two of the jurors fell asleep during the inquest. Several witnesses were not allowed to testify. Guzman's brother, who was deported and then brought back for the inquest, was not even allowed to take the stand, nor was Salvador Pantoja, an eyewitness to the arrest.

Because of considerable community interest in the trial, the hearing had to be moved from the basement of the sheriff's department to the Stockton Civic Auditorium. The first day of the trial, 600 people, mainly farm workers, attended. The average attendance for the rest of the week of the trial was 300.

Guzman's brother, who flatly charges that the victim was murdered, was represented by attorneys from the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF).

The Comité de Acción y Justicia is fighting for a new investigation and for Guzman's body to be exhumed. They have been meeting Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m. at the San Jorge Catholic Church, 151 W. 5th St., Stockton. Interested persons may contact Hector Cavazos at (209) 369-9583 in Lodi, or Ponciano Pantoja at (209) 838-3097 in Escalon.



Militant/Dave Brown

Escalon, Calif., community activists point to irrigation canal where Francisco Guzman allegedly plunged to death 'trying to escape.'

## People's Party holds national convention

By MIKE KELLY

INDIANAPOLIS—One hundred sixty people attended the People's Party national convention here over the July 4 weekend. The convention was about half the size of the group's last gathering, held in 1972. The delegates attending the convention were mostly young, white, and divided about evenly between men and women. Most seemed to be students or recent college graduates.

The People's Party is a loose coalition of local "third parties" including Michigan's Human Rights Party and California's Peace and Freedom Party. The coalition ran Benjamin Spock as its presidential candidate in 1972 and received some 68,000 votes, according to official tabulations.

The several dozen resolutions submitted by local chapters overwhelmingly focused on either the party's platform or on how to define the party's character. There were no central proposals for any action campaigns other than election campaigns.

Debate over the party's program revealed a wide diversity of political groupings within the group. These ranged from supporters of the Libertarian Alliance, who advocate a return to "laissez-faire" capitalism, to people from the Human Rights Party, who proposed a "feminist socialism." Another, smaller group wanted to maintain the all-inclusive "populist" character of the People's Party.

The Libertarian group recently won the Peace and Freedom party guber-

natorial nomination in California.

The "feminist socialism" position narrowly missed garnering a majority at the convention. Many of its supporters then swung over to bloc with those who advocated defining the party as "socialist." This bloc defeated the "populist" proposal.

Many who supported openly defining the party as socialist said they had been "closet" socialists for some time but now believe the time is ripe to come out in the open. Fear of socialists or communists, it was noted, has receded with the détente and the growing Watergate atmosphere of distrust of the capitalist system. A minority, however, felt that openly proclaiming the party socialist would

Continued on page 22

## The failure of education in America

International Socialist Review. July/August 1974. 75 cents. Order from ISR, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The deteriorating quality of education and what, if anything, teachers can do about it was a major topic of discussion among the 10,000 delegates at the National Education Association convention earlier this month. It is likewise sure to be debated at the August convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

In this richest country in the world, one million youth between the ages of 12 and 17 are illiterate; an estimated 40 to 50 percent of pupils in American cities have serious reading problems; and 25 percent of all students drop out before high school graduation. And as the government cuts back on funds, education is getting even worse.

Masses of working people look toward a decent

## Periodicals

education for their children as the road to social advancement, financial security, and personal satisfaction. The failure of education not only to meet such goals of greater equality and intellectual development of individuals, but even to fulfill the elementary function of teaching people to read, is an explosive social issue, especially in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

"The Failure of American Education," by Stephanie Coontz, in the July-August issue of *International Socialist Review*, explains that this failure is not accidental and need not be permanent.

The school system, Coontz explains, is an institution of capitalist society, and as such it is permeated with and itself perpetuates class inequality and racist and sexist discrimination. It does not provide quality education for all because that is not its purpose.

Under capitalism, education for working-class children is intended to provide a certain necessary minimum of training for their future role as wage workers. Just as important, it teaches acceptance of authority and the status quo, competitiveness, racism, anticommunism, and other values useful to the ruling capitalist minority.

In relation to Black children, Coontz answers the overtly racist theories that ties poor school performance to an alleged inherent genetic inferiority of Blacks. She also refutes the liberal excuse of "cultural deprivation" that puts the blame on the individual Black family while letting the system and the schools off the hook.

She points instead to the unequal resources provided for schools in Black and poor white areas, and to the early division of students—based on class and race—into those who will succeed and those who will not, a division that rapidly becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy.

A special effort should be made to get this important article into the hands of teachers and parents fighting for better schools. —ANDY ROSE



Militant/Michael Baumann.

Blacks and Puerto Ricans, like these in New York's school district 1, are fighting for decent education.



Militant/B.R. Washington

## What road to Black power

What Road to Black Liberation: The Democratic Party or an Independent Black Party? by Tony Thomas and Norman Oliver. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 1974. Pamphlet, \$.50.

The Black liberation movement made significant strides in the 1960s in knocking down de jure segregation. Civil rights laws were put on the books, and to a large extent the formal equality of Black people was recognized.

However, there was no real improvement in the conditions of the Black masses. The poverty, misery, and degradation that Black people faced prior to the massive civil rights movement continued. In fact, conditions in the Black community have grown worse.

More and more Black people began to see that the only way the problems they faced would be

## Pamphlets

eliminated would be through achieving political power. The fight for Black political power has become the central aim of the Black liberation movement today, and rightly so.

Unfortunately, the majority of Black people still see political power being won through working in the Democratic Party.

*What Road to Black Liberation* takes up and refutes the arguments in favor of working in the capitalist parties. The authors, both staff writers for *The Militant*, show that the only effective way to build Black political power is for Black people to break with the capitalist parties. What is needed is an independent Black party.

The pamphlet takes up the attack on independent political action from three diverse sources: 1) Imamu Baraka; 2) Carl Stokes; and 3) the Communist Party.

Baraka and a number of other Black activists put forward the idea that a Black political party can be built through working in the Democratic Party. In the first article in the pamphlet, Tony Thomas shows how this strategy actually leads to the Democratic Party using Black people to maintain the status quo.

This is even more clear in the examples of Carl Stokes and other prominent Black Democrats. In another article in this pamphlet, by Norman Oliver, the experience of Carl Stokes as mayor of Cleveland is used to expose the bankruptcy of "working in the system."

The other article in the pamphlet, by Thomas, takes up the arguments of the Communist Party. Since the Communist Party falsifies the history of the Black liberation movement to hide its own treacherous record, Thomas first sets the record straight on that score. He then goes on to show that what the Communist Party claims is a revolutionary and Marxist approach to the Black struggle is in reality counterrevolutionary and non-Marxist. Rather than project a strategy of breaking with capitalist exploiters, the CP seeks to collaborate with these oppressors of the Black community. —HENRY LUCAS

## 'Chinatown': Real water in Watergate

Chinatown. Directed by Roman Polanski. Produced by Robert Evans. Written by Robert Towne. Starring Jack Nicholson and Faye Dunaway.

*Chinatown*, Roman Polanski's latest film, is a return to the undemonstrative romanticism of the old-time private-eye flicks. Jake Gittes (Jack Nicholson) is Sam Spade and Philip Marlowe rolled into one.

Another recent film that tried to capture the moral passion of the Philip Marlowe persona was Robert Altman's *A Long Goodbye*. However, as is the case with almost all of Altman's films, *A Long Goodbye* was a little lumpy. Altman's treatment of Marlowe was more a parody than anything else, and setting the story in the 1970s made it seem anachronistic.

However, the main difference between Altman's

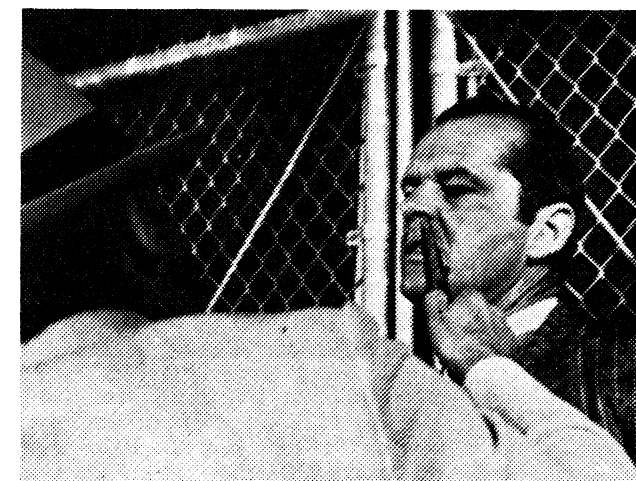
## Film

and Polanski's treatments of this genre is Polanski's uncanny ability to evoke a sense of terror and moral malaise. He demonstrated this in *Repulsion* and *Rosemary's Baby*, and *Chinatown* is even further proof of Polanski's talent.

Jake Gittes and Evelyn Mulwray (Faye Dunaway) are the classic couple of private detective movies—she the innocent woman hounded by depraved ogres of men, and he the knightly gumshoe whose cynicism just barely covers his unswerving code of honor.

Gittes is tricked into exposing the love life of the Los Angeles water commissioner by someone who poses as the commissioner's wife. After commissioner Mulwray is murdered, his real wife hires Gittes to unravel the mystery.

And unravel it he does. Gittes exposes layer after layer of corruption until he uncovers a rather complex and diabolical plot to defraud the poor of Los Angeles through the criminal manipulation of the water system—a Watergate with real water!



Polanski and Nicholson in scene from film

In the process of exposing all this, Gittes also brings to light the perverse ties between Evelyn Mulwray, her husband, her daughter, and her sinister millionaire father (John Huston).

It is this latter tale that provides the real drama of the film. Yet, this is hidden—nothing is as it appears in this film.

The cool, calm, and collected Jake Gittes is a far cry from the usually explosive characters Nicholson has played in the past. However, Nicholson does an excellent job expressing himself in nuances of anger—showing what a versatile actor he is.

Faye Dunaway's Evelyn Mulwray is superb. Polanski has brought forth her best performance to date—much more memorable even than her role in *Bonnie and Clyde*.

Death and love are the central themes in Polanski's films. *Chinatown* brings this macabre sense to the detective genre. Seeing this film is an experience not to be missed. —NORMAN OLIVER



## SWP on ballot despite ruling

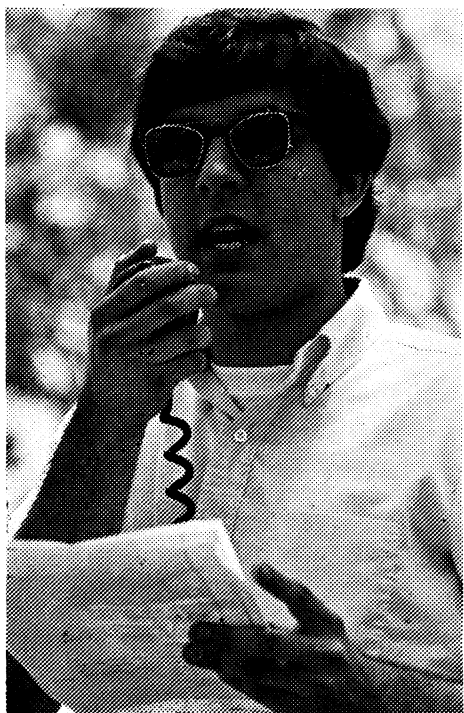
# Court upholds unfair Mass. election law

By TOM MORIARTY

BOSTON—In a setback for the struggle against undemocratic ballot restrictions, a three-judge federal court here has ruled against the Socialist Workers Party's challenge to the Massachusetts election law.

Nevertheless, as a result of the SWP's massive petitioning effort, the party's statewide slate of Don Gurewitz for governor, Ollie Bivins for lieutenant governor, and Jeanne Lafferty for attorney general apparently will appear on the ballot. No challenge to their nominating petitions was filed within the legally specified time limit, and press reports have stated they will be granted ballot status.

The ballot suit was filed last March by the Massachusetts Committee for Democratic Election Laws on behalf of the SWP and seven individuals



Militant/John Gray

SWP candidate Don Gurewitz charged that court ruling was aimed at upholding 'political monopoly of Democrats and Republicans.'

whose right to vote for the candidate of their choice is denied by the restrictive election law.

Charging that sections of the law regarding small parties are discriminatory and unconstitutional, the suit sought legal recognition as a "political party" and ballot status for the SWP.

At present only the Democrats and Republicans are legally recognized as "political parties," with an automatic place on the ballot. "Independent parties" wishing to appear on the ballot must gather nearly four times as many signatures on petitions as candidates running in the Democratic and Republican primaries.

The extraordinarily restrictive character of the Massachusetts law can be seen from the fact that since 1939 independent candidates have successfully petitioned to get on the statewide ballot only three times.

Not only did the court's 12-page decision fail to answer any of the substantive issues raised by the SWP suit, but the judges felt free to rule on the case before even hearing the full argument.

The hearing, held June 24, was held to hear arguments on the SWP's motion for an injunction against printing the November ballots until the case was decided, and the state attorney general's motion that the suit be dismissed. In an opinion handed down June 28, the judges ruled against the SWP.

The SWP had singled out three aspects of the law that discriminate against small parties.

First is the legal requirement that "independent parties" must collect signatures equal to 2 percent of the vote cast in the last "biennial election for governor" in order to gain temporary ballot status. To gain permanent ballot status a party must win at least 3 percent of the vote for governor.

In 1972 the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, Don Gurewitz, won more than 41,000 votes, or 1.65 percent, and the party's candi-

date for Congress from the 8th C.D., John Powers, won more than 10 percent of the vote. Despite this showing, the SWP is still not recognized as a "political party."

The second point in the SWP's challenge concerned the passage in the law tying "political party" status to "biennial elections for governor." No such elections have been held since 1966, when the state switched to holding gubernatorial elections every four years.

This vagueness in the law has left the secretary of state free to decide what election to use as a criterion, making it even easier to discriminate against smaller parties. The court, rather than denying this charge, merely replied that the secretary of state's "statement of position is definitive. . . ." That is, his word is law.

The third particularly burdensome law opposed by the SWP requires that all signatures be filed in the town halls where the signers are registered. The SWP filed signatures this year in more than 175 different towns, an effort that took some 3,200 miles of travel. Massachusetts is one of only five states that maintain such a law.

The judges simply said, "The marginal increment required by [filing by towns] is not great." In other words, since the state makes it nearly impossible to get on the ballot in the first place, there's nothing wrong with throwing up still another obstacle!

In a statement to the media Gurewitz called the ruling a defeat not only for the SWP but for all independent candidates and parties. "This ruling," Gurewitz said, "denies the voters of Massachusetts the right to choose from a full field of candidates. The court, like the legislature, is attempting to maintain the political monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans."

"We fully intend to continue the struggle for democratic rights in the electoral arena," the socialist candidate said. "Through a massive petitioning effort, the SWP has collected

more than 62,000 signatures to place our candidates on the ballot in 1974. We complied with these undemocratic laws, even while fighting against them, to ensure that working people could cast a vote for the socialist alternative to the twin parties of big business."

## SWP fights for ballot rights

BOSTON—Attempts are being made to keep some SWP candidates off the ballot here despite the party's compliance with the restrictive election laws. Signatures gathered by the SWP in the 8th and 9th Congressional Districts have been challenged.

In the 8th C.D. the socialists have gathered evidence of discrimination and negligence in the signature validation procedures by the town clerks who validate signatures. In the 9th C.D. the "U.S. Labor Party," or National Caucus of Labor Committees, is attempting to have the SWP thrown off the ballot.

A statement in support of the socialists' right to ballot status has been signed by Rexford Weng, vice-president of the state AFL-CIO; John Boone, former state commissioner of corrections; and State Representative John Businger.

They say in part: "As supporters of the right of the SWP to ballot status in Massachusetts, we deplore both the discriminatory validation procedures utilized against the socialist candidates, and the complicity of the state with the spurious charges raised by the so-called U.S. Labor Party. . . ."

"We urge support to the just efforts of the SWP in seeking the democratic right to put its program and candidates before the Massachusetts electorate."

# Bad week for gov't in Wounded Knee trial

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL—For federal prosecutors in the Wounded Knee trial, it was an embarrassing week.

One of the prosecution witnesses, an FBI informer, asked not to testify, telling the government he now supported the Indian cause.

In another development, a Minneapolis newspaper uncovered a virtual plot involving high-placed Justice Department officials and three congressmen who were seeking to revoke the bail of defendant Russell Means or keep him out of South Dakota.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department conceded July 16 that there were "irregularities" in the February tribal election that saw Means narrowly lose to Richard Wilson for president of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Means had earlier charged that the election was fixed.

The frame-up trial of Means and Dennis Banks, American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders, is in its seventh month, with the prosecution still presenting its evidence.

The two face a 10-count felony indictment arising out of last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D.

The government says it will rest its case about Aug. 1, but after last week's bizarre developments some federal authorities may have wished they had never brought the charges to begin with.

A paid FBI informer, James Northrup, refused to testify at the trial July 11, reportedly telling a defense attorney that "to testify against Russell and Dennis would be a betrayal of those who lived and those who died in Wounded Knee in 1890 and 1973," according to one newspaper account.

Apparently, Northrup was signed on by the FBI last year to inform against AIM during the Wounded Knee seizure. However Northrup, a Chippewa Indian from Wisconsin, then had second thoughts. After his statement the prosecutors withdrew a second subpoena that had been issued for him.

Dennis Banks told *The Militant* in an interview that when he met Northrup at Wounded Knee last year, Northrup told him that he was an informer for the FBI, but wanted to switch sides and work for the Oglala Sioux.

Meanwhile, Minneapolis *Tribune* reporter Dennis Cassano uncovered the fact that "high-placed Justice Department officials" made the decision to ask Judge Nichol to revoke Means's bail.

Cassano also reported in the *Tribune* that Congressman James Abdnor (R-S.D.) had asked William Clayton, U.S. attorney for South Dakota, to get Means's bail revoked.

In addition, Cassano wrote that informants had said that intermediaries

for Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.) and Representative Frank Denholm (D-S.D.) also "had contacted Clayton's office to express the congressmen's concern over complaints from constituents about Means's activities in South Dakota." Nonetheless



Militant/Earl Shaffer

RUSSELL MEANS: Judge refused Indian leader's travel requests.

Nichol did not revoke the bail, which the prosecution said was necessary to prevent Means from committing crimes in South Dakota that would prevent him from attending trial.

The defense had contended that bail could not be revoked to prevent a defendant from committing a crime.

Nichol still managed to show that he is basically on the side of the government in the dispute. He denied two travel requests by Means and said that from now on he would rule on Means's travel requests on a week-to-week basis.

Banks said that Nichol was succumbing to pressure from the three congressmen in restricting Means's out-of-town travel. "The judge has received 25,000 signatures on petitions telling him to drop the charges," Banks observed. "He ought to bow to the pressure of the 25,000 rather than those three people."

In a separate development, the Justice Department said that the Indian Bill of Rights and tribal ordinances were violated in the Feb. 4 Pine Ridge Reservation election, which saw Means lose to Richard Wilson by 200 votes in the race for tribal chairman.

It was Wilson's corrupt administration that was one reason for last year's seizure of Wounded Knee.

The Justice Department said that

Continued on page 22

# Calendar

## BROOKLYN

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Tues., July 23, 8 p.m.: Post-World War II Stalinism. Thurs., July 25, 8 p.m.: The family and nationalities under Stalinist rule. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: 50 cents per session. Ausp: Brooklyn Socialist Summer School. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CHICAGO

**THE MIDDLE EAST: WHY PEACE WON'T LAST.** Speakers: Dennis Brasky, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress; Musil Shihadeh. Fri., July 26, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## DETROIT

**WORLD STARVATION—PRODUCED BY U.S. CAPITALISM.** Speaker: Tim Craine, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 26, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## HOUSTON

**PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION—A SOCIALIST ANALYSIS.** Speaker: Jill Fein, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., July 26, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Wed., July 24, 8 p.m. and Sat., July 27, 10 a.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 25 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**THE SPECTER OF WORLD FAMINE.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., July 26, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

**ANNUAL LOS ANGELES SHISH KEBAB.** Sun., July 28, 4 p.m.: refreshments; 6 p.m.: dinner. 1781 Euclid Ave., Pasadena. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**IS CAPITALISM HEADING FOR ANOTHER WORLD DEPRESSION?** Speaker: Dick Roberts, associate editor of *International Socialist Review*. Fri., July 26, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## PITTSBURGH

**CUBA: A REVOLUTIONARY CELEBRATION.** Speakers: Jose Moreno, native of Cuba and sociology professor at Univ. of Pittsburgh; Brett Merkey, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 26, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (in Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## SAN DIEGO

**JULY 26, CELEBRATE THE VICTORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., July 26, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Cannon's 'Speeches to the Party'—Wed., July 24, 7:30 p.m.: The split in the party. 4660 Maryland (at Euclid), Room 17. Donation: 50 cents. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SEATTLE

**THE REAL AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION.** Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, associate editor of *International Socialist Review*. Mon., July 29, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** History of the Russian revolution. Wed., July 17, 8 p.m. A Marxist approach to the labor movement. Speaker: Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 27, 1 p.m.: Class 1; 4 p.m.: Class 2. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**THE MIDEAST AND THE DETENTE.** Speakers: H.I. Hussaini, Palestinian activist and scholar; Joe Stork, Middle East Research and Information Project; Craig Landberg, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., July 26, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES.** The roots of Stalinism. Sat., July 27—The Chinese revolution and Maoism today. 11 a.m.: Class 1; 2 p.m.: Class 2. Sun., July 28, 12 noon: Class 3. Donation: 50 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...trial

*Continued from page 21*

nonqualified persons were allowed to vote in the election, absentee ballots were not issued, and there was a lack of suitable security in the control of the ballot boxes.

Means told *The Militant* that the Justice Department's statement about election irregularities was a "vindication once again of Wounded Knee and the American Indian Movement."

However, Means said he did not have any optimism that he would get a favorable ruling on a new election in federal court from Judge Andrew Bogue. Bogue has already shown his bias and prejudice toward AIM leaders, Means said.

# ...Party

*Continued from page 19*

mean the loss of supporters and perhaps local chapters.

Delegates also voted to pursue more aggressively the possibility of merger with other groups such as the Socialist Party, USA, the New American Movement, and the National Interim Committee for a Mass People's Party.

In a session devoted to resolutions of support for activities of other

groups, the convention overwhelmingly voted to endorse the call of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners for protest actions to defend Chilean political prisoners. The actions have been called for Sept. 11, the first anniversary of the coup in Chile.

The convention also endorsed the Socialist Workers Party's suit against the government. The Political Rights Defense Fund is building support and raising funds for the suit, which seeks an injunction against harassment of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance by the FBI and other government agencies.

# ...Ohio

*Continued from page 4*

AFSCME District Council 21, stated that strikers would also throw up picket lines at state agencies where the union is not represented. "With 40,000 people on the street," Clemans said, "something has to give."

Although the majority of the state's employees are not organized, the strike's dynamic is toward involvement of all state workers affected by the pay increase. AFSCME is seeking support from the Ohio AFL-CIO and calling on other workers to respect their picket lines.

Owen King, AFSCME communications director, stated July 15 that union representatives were "in contact with the Ohio Senate conference committee of the Ohio legislature, but it has availed us nothing. Our members hope that by producing a public outcry for justice we will gain our pay hike."

Over the past five years, the paychecks of state workers in Ohio have declined in purchasing power. Between 1969 and 1971 state employees were refused a raise despite the fact that Ohio's pay scale fell about \$1,000 a year behind neighboring industrial states. In 1972 state workers received a "catch-up" increase of 38 cents an hour and in 1973 a paltry raise of 25 cents an hour.

Several bills calling for pay hikes of up to 61 cents an hour for state workers have been languishing in committees in the Ohio legislature since March. Refusal to report a pay bill out of committee was said to be justified by "lack of available funds."

However, in early July it was estab-

lished that the state budget had an \$80-million surplus. Ohio's Democratic Party governor and supposed friend of labor, John Gilligan, had consistently denied that such a surplus existed. When Gilligan finally made a public statement admitting that the surplus existed, pressure for a pay increase began to mount rapidly.

The immediate impetus for the strike came when the joint committee considering the pay bill—by this time watered down to a 25-cent raise—announced that the bill wouldn't get out of committee until some time after the summer recess.

On July 16 a legislative committee put forward a "compromise" proposal: a 30-cent hourly increase for workers with wages of less than \$8,000 a year; 20 cents an hour for workers in the \$8,000–\$12,000 bracket; and 10 cents an hour for those earning more than \$12,000 a year.

AFSCME leaders were scheduled to meet again today in Columbus to consider the offer. With a resolute attitude to the governor and legislature, and with unity in action between the striking unions, the 40-cent-an-hour pay hike could easily be won. At the same time the union could demonstrate to the workers the importance of union organization.

However, the AFSCME leaders appear inclined to accept the compromise, which involves a loss in real wages for most state employees.

Referring to today's meeting, Clemans commented, "If the local presidents accept it, the strike will end."

# ...Minn.

*Continued from page 9*

The Minnesota law provides that a party or individual can be exempted from disclosure if a pattern of harassment can be proven to the satisfaction of the commission.

"It seems to us," Hall continued, "that there can only be one decision: That the Socialist Workers Party falls within the statutory exemption."

Messages in support of the right of the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee to be exempted from the Minnesota public disclosure law should be sent to the State Ethics Commission, 74 State Office Building, St. Paul, Minn. 55155, and a copy to the socialist campaign headquarters at 25 University Way S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414.

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

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Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

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Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. **Kalamazoo:** YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3 Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

**MINNESOTA:** Mankato: YSA, c/o Chris Frank, Rt. 1, Box 6, Mankato, Minn. 56001.

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Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849. **Buffalo:** YSA, c/o David Strong, 236 W. Utica, Buffalo, N.Y. 14222. Tel: (716) 885-8861.

**New Paltz:** YSA, c/o Diane Phillips, 36 Plattekill Ave., New Paltz, N.Y. 12561. Tel: (914) 255-1871.

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**Cleveland:** SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553. YSA—(216) 391-3278.

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Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: c/o Bill Donovan, 572 W. Hillside Ave., State College, Pa. 16801.

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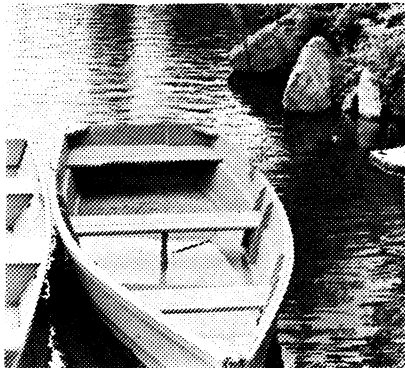
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NEW YORK

## NY SWP campaign petition drive kickoff picnic



SUNDAY, JULY 28. Help kick off the Socialist Workers Party petitioning drive. Join us for a picnic at Arrow Park! Departure: 706 BROADWAY, 9:30 a.m. Donation: \$5 (includes picnic lunch and transportation), \$3 for children. Ausp: New York State Socialist Workers Campaign Committee and Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

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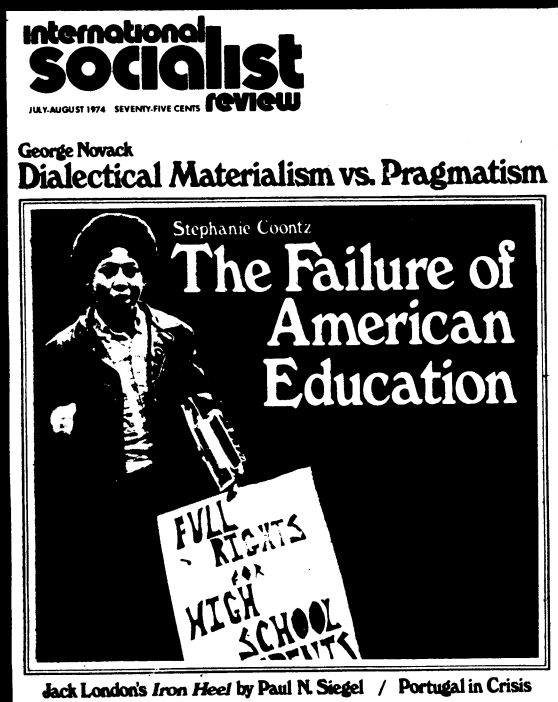
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## Portugal: military tightens its grip

From Intercontinental Press

By GERRY FOLEY

"It was not possible to compromise when we found ourselves in a situation where there was disorder in the streets, social indiscipline, agitation in the newspapers and the invasion of public buildings by Government functionaries."

This is the explanation former Portuguese Premier Adelino da Palma Carlos gave for his resignation July 9, a move that resulted in the fall of the provisional government established on May 16.

Da Palma added, according to a July 11 dispatch from Lisbon to the *New York Times*:

"All this constitutes a climate of indiscipline entirely contrary to my temperament and to my ideas of what democracy is."

The resignation of the premier was followed by that of the other "moderates" in the cabinet— Francisco Sá Carneiro, the deputy premier; Magalhães Mota, minister of the interior; Lieutenant Colonel Mario Firmino Miguel, minister of defense; and Vasco Vieira de Almeida, minister of economic coordination. The withdrawal of the bourgeois ministers left virtually no one in the government but military officers and representatives of the Communist and Socialist parties.

Parallel with the resignation of the "moderates," the regime sharply escalated its attack on the democratic lib-



Spinola addressing some of the most trusted troops he has gathered around Lisbon.

erties seized by the people in the wake of the April 25 coup. "For the first time since members of the armed forces became popular heroes by toppling a half-century dictatorship, they opposed an extreme left-wing street demonstration with guns," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger reported from the Portuguese capital July 9. "Paratroopers and marines in battle dress ringed one of Lisbon's principal squares this afternoon and prevented a demonstration in protest against the arrest of some officers as dissidents."

The "dissidents" were probably the two officers who let it be known that

they would not obey orders to impose military discipline on postal workers participating in the late June strike.

Both the daily *República*, which is published by Socialist Minister of Information Raúl Rego and which generally reflects the views of the Socialist party, and *A Capital*, the most factual of the evening papers, were fined the week before for reporting a demonstration in support of these two officers. Obviously the problem of shoring up arbitrary authority in the armed forces was part of the motivation in the junta's decision to cut back the democratic freedoms the people won after April 25.

But despite the tightening of authority, especially since the junta succeeded, with the help of the Communist party, in breaking the postal strike, Spínola does not seem as yet to have restored bourgeois discipline completely in the armed forces. According to Giniger in his July 9 dispatch, "a young paratrooper lieutenant dramatically illustrated the conflict within the military by telling newsmen that he did not approve of his orders to stop the demonstration. . . ."

On July 11, the head of the junta, General Spínola, formally dismissed the rest of the provisional government. This move also coincided with a military show of force.

"Today, in his general's uniform and carrying a swagger stick, the

monocled chief of state rode out to marine barracks outside Lisbon," a July 11 dispatch to the *New York Times* reported, "and while 2,000 marines stood respectfully in a hot sun he recalled their branch's patriotism in the critical moments of the country's history."

There are some indications that tensions had developed between the "moderates" and the Communist party on the eve of the July 9 crisis. According to Giniger's dispatch on the day the "moderates" resigned, the Communist party took a friendly attitude toward the demonstration of civil servants that da Palma cited as an example of intolerable anarchy. This is the way the *New York Times* correspondent described the incident:

"Last evening [July 8] the Government's prestige and the social and economic program it had announced last week suffered a major blow when thousands of civil servants appeared on the streets and demonstrated against the measures and the increased pay for Government functionaries."

"The demonstrators were in the lowest-paid categories of the civil services and had received proportionately the lowest increases. Mr. Carneiro and Mr. Vieira de Almeida had to promise the crowd that they would review the measures before it agreed to disperse. But the civil servants resumed

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## Africa: anticolonial struggle sharpens

By NORMAN OLIVER

The recent shake-up in the Spínola regime's cabinet was partly a reflection of the inability of the Portuguese ruling class thus far to impose a neo-colonial setup on its African colonies, and of its deteriorating position in Africa. While the Lisbon government continues to refuse to grant independence to its African colonies, struggles on the part of Black Africans in the cities and in the countryside are deepening.

On July 15 the city of Luanda in Angola was almost paralyzed by a general strike called by Black workers to protest continued Portuguese control of the colony. The strike action was spearheaded by Black civil servants.

On that same day, Portuguese troops shot into two mass demonstrations of Blacks, killing up to 20 and wounding 60. According to a July 16 dispatch in the *New York Times*, the Black demonstrators were attacked as they headed for the colonial governor's palace, after they had succeeded in disarming two soldiers who were threatening the march.

The previous week, attacks by Angola's white minority provoked two nights of violence. During that time six Blacks and one white were killed and 40 wounded, according to *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger.

Thirty thousand people attended the funeral ceremony for four of the slain Blacks, reported a July 15 Reuters dispatch. "The burial marked the first time that flags of the two rival liberation movements have flown together," said the dispatch, apparently referring to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola.

This is a significant development, since the Angolan liberation organizations have in the past been divided and have even fired on one another.

The independence struggle has sharpened in Mozambique as well. The July 11 *New York Times* reported, "Hundreds of demonstrators who gathered at the international airport here last night forced Mozambique's governor general to halt shipment to Portugal of more than \$12-

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Frelimo fighters in Mozambique